Children's Capabilities and Education Inequality:

How Types of Schooling Play a Role in Pakistan

Amna Ansari

St. Edmund's College
University of Cambridge

October 2016

This dissertation is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee

Amna Ansari

10 October 2016

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Dr. Flavio Comim for dedicating care and attention to my work as if it were his own – as a supervisor, his mentorship and support remain unmatched; as a human being, words fall short to praise his kind heart. I distinctly remember when, within a few hours of arriving in Cambridge, the distasteful cynicism of some briefly left me worried about being supervised by a visiting fellow who would be away from Cambridge and 'never really be there' to support me. Four years later, I am overwhelmed to claim an experience that not only proved to be the opposite, but also went far beyond.

A special thanks is due to my professors, colleagues and staff at the Centre of Development Studies, particularly Dr. Gay Meeks for her insightful paper on Philosophical Issues in Economic Development and inspiration; Dr. Shailaja Fennell, Dr. Maha Abdelrehman and Dr. David Clark for their useful comments on my progress in the initial months; Doreen and Nathalie for lending administrative support, and my friends Anel, EunJoo, Ga-Young and Nan for never letting me feel like the journey was being made alone. I would like to thank my friend, Ildo Lautharte Junior, for generously extending help with data analysis during the final months of my degree, and also my friends and colleagues from the REAL Centre at the Faculty of Education and the HDCA for their comments and suggestions on my research.

I cannot thank enough my family at St. Edmund's College for their support and care in the past four years, particularly my College Tutor, Dr. Fernando Constantino Casas; Dean, Second Bursar and Praelector, Fr. Alban McCoy; Facilities Manager, Janusz Dudzic; Senior Tutor, Dr. Judith Bunbury; Tutorial Office staff Anna, Naomi and Tobias; and all friends – old and new – for sharing wisdom and lending encouragement. I would particularly like to mention Sara, Ammar and Sohaib for their invaluable friendship and Bruno Medeiros for his support during the writing.

This PhD would not have been possible without financial support from my primary scholarship providers – the Cambridge Commonwealth Trust (CCEIT) and HEC Pakistan – as well as other sources including the Cambridge Political Economy Society, Charles Wallace Pakistan Trust, St. Edmund's, SMUTS, and the University's Hardship funds. Local support provided during fieldwork in Pakistan by IDEAS (Lahore), particularly Dr. Faisal Bari, Dr. Rabea Malik and Dr. Farooq Naseer was indispensable, as was the support extended by government officials and school staff. To the children and parents who participated in my study, I am forever indebted.

I would like to dedicate this work to my family without whom I would never have come this far. This PhD is for my father whose encouragement and persistence made me embark on this wonderful journey in the first place; for my mother whose love and prayers helped me overcome every obstacle with ease – not a day went by in these four years that her warmth

did not reach me; for my sisters Mohsina and Uzma who always took pride in my achievements and showed unconditional support; for my very adorable nephews Mustafa, Mohammad and Ahmad who became my smile in times of despair; for my dear husband, Saad, who trod the path with me and created beautiful memories along the way – the emotional brunt in the final days of work would have been impossible to endure had it not been for his love and patience; for my best friends: Kamran, who has meant and done so much more than can ever be acknowledged, and Faisal and ShahBakht who never stopped believing in me; and finally, for Cambridge and its people to whom it belongs.

Amna Ansari

10 October 2016

CONTENTS

List of Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

List of Abbreviations

AEPAM	Academy of Educational Planning and Management
AFF	Affiliation
ASEBA	The Achenbach System of Empirically Based Assessment
ASER	Annual Status of Education Report
BERA	British Educational Research Association
BI	Bodily Integrity
CA	Capability or Capabilities Approach
COSS	Council of Social Studies
CREB	Centre for Research in Economics and Business (Pakistan)
DDEO	Deputy District Education Officer
DEO	District Education Officer
EMO	Emotions
GoP	Government of Pakistan
GoPb	Government of the Punjab
GPRG	Global Poverty Research Group
HDI	Human Development Index
HDRC	Human Development Resource Centre
HH	Household
ICAI	Independent Commission for Aid Impact
ILO	International Labour Office

I-SAPS	Institute of Social and Policy Sciences
IV	Instrumental Variable
KSIT	Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought
LD	Learning Disposition
LEAPS	Learning and Educational Achievement in Punjab Schools
LHS	Left Hand Side
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MHHDC	Mahbub ul Haq Human Development Centre
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoF	Ministry of Finance
MoFEPT	Ministry of Federal Education and Professional Training
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
MTDF	Medium-Term Development Framework
NBER	National Bureau of Economic Research
OECD	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PC	Planning Commission (Ministry of Planning, Development and Reform, Pakistan)
PEC	Punjab Education Commission
PERI	Privatization in Education Research Initiative
PESRP	Punjab Education Sector Reform Programme
PETF	Pakistan Education Task Force
PL	Play

PR	Practical Reason
PSLM	Pakistan Social and Living Standards Measurement Survey
RECOUP	Research Consortium on Educational Outcomes and Poverty
REL	Religion
RES	Respect
RHS	Right Hand Side
SAFED	South Asian Forum for Education Development
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPE	Universal Primary Education
VE	Values and Etiquettes
WB	The World Bank

Introduction

The purpose of this introduction is to briefly familiarize the reader with the current study's aims, objectives and rationale, with supporting references and evidence following in subsequent chapters. This research is an application of the Capabilities Approach to a South Asian educational context, aiming to answer how children's capabilities differ across different types of schooling (public, private and religious) in Pakistan. Children deserve an active role in human development, and their capabilities are a consequence of social interaction and receptiveness within households and broader environments. While work on capabilities and education provides new ways of thinking about one such environment, that is schools, it leaves a wide range of issues unanswered or unexamined at the same time. Thus a lot remains to be done to develop a thorough, in-depth analysis of the potential application of a capability perspective to children's education, and consequently, schooling. The given research provides one example of how this may be achieved in the complex educational context of Pakistan where, in addition to other stark inequalities, the historical and deep-rooted institutionalization of education in private, public and religious schooling catering to different socio-economic groups promotes inequality in and through the education system. Apart from demonstrating a measurement and evaluation exercise in capabilities, the importance of such a research study also lies in its applicability beyond the case of Pakistan. An objective comparison of children's educational capabilities is relevant to education policy and planning in other South Asian countries offering similar public, private and religious schooling, such as India and Bangladesh, as well as European countries like England offering state-funded and private schooling.

Research Aims and Objectives

This thesis tackles the problem of differentiated schooling and education inequality in Pakistan from a capabilities perspective. It is inspired by at least three research aims. Firstly, the thesis aims to address the consequences of the *institutionalization* of education in the form of differentiated schooling for school-going children in Pakistan. This is unlike most conventional research on education inequality in the country which dwells on aspects like economic returns to education or qualitative differences in public and private provision, but does not look beyond. The current research, on the other hand, emphasizes the importance of historical and cultural contexts in understanding education inequality in Pakistan in relation

to its colonial past and evolution of parallel education systems. Secondly, the thesis aims to offer an alternative perspective on conceptualizing and measuring education inequality in the country in the form of educational capabilities. No study so far has attempted to evaluate from a capabilities perspective how children identifying with several social groups differ in what they are able to be and do across each of the public, private and religious tiers of education in Pakistan. By framing the question of education inequality as a capabilities one, that is, by comparing young children's educational capabilities with respect to different school types, this thesis offers an alternative perspective on education inequality in the country. Finally, this thesis aims to analyse children's educational capabilities in light of the several school-level factors that define and distinguish their everyday educational experiences at each of the three different types of schools in Pakistan. By comparing children's educational capabilities across school types, the thesis invites attention to not only differentiation in provision of education, for example, private versus state provision, English- versus Urdu-medium education, secular versus religious education etc., but also differentiation in *educational processes* and the resulting role and content of education in each type of schooling.

The thesis addresses the following research questions:

(i) How do children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schooling in Pakistan?

(ii) How are potential differences in children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling mediated by certain individual, family and household characteristics?

The thesis meets its research aims through the following objectives:

a. Identifying valued educational capabilities in theory and practice and objectively measuring them in children in Pakistan;
b. Comparing children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling qualitatively and quantitatively, and analysing how their development (or lack thereof) in each fosters education inequality;
c. Evaluating whether certain individual, family and household characteristics help explain potential variation in children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling.

Rationale for Study

The implications of a historically multi-rooted education structure like Pakistan's are hard to ignore – it is crucial to consider how each tier of education combines with other permutations and combinations of inequalities to impact children's individual and collective lives. An appeal to equality under such a differentiated education structure in Pakistan is attributed to the scale and nature of the problem, that is, in addition to several intra-tier inequalities based on gender, religion and other social groups highlighted in subsequent chapters, the very existence of distinct overarching tiers of education plays a role in worsening inequality. The problem also carries appeal to social justice as participating, learning and benefiting from a particular type of education unequally often leads to inequality in other domains of people's lives, such as economic, social and political opportunities. This regenerative attribute of education which allows individuals to be and do several other things must not be distributed discriminately. The current study is crucial in determining the extent to which this is the case for Pakistan.

The main hypothesis tested by this thesis is whether children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schooling in Pakistan. If the extent of differentiation afforded by the three tiers is high, it may be argued that a tiered education structure fosters inequality and exacerbates social divide. This necessitates further enquiry into the dimensions in which such inequality manifests itself. On the other hand, if the extent of differentiation afforded by the three tiers is low, it may be argued that citizens have no real choice between them, and that there is an even greater need to determine whether the resulting capabilities from all the three tiers meet society's preferences, expectations and valuations regarding the experience of schooling. These questions are a primary motivation for conducting the current study. As the following chapters demonstrate, a capabilities perspective was adopted to allow a broader informational space for the evaluation of education inequalities beyond mere economic, social and political opportunities.

It is important to make two points at this stage. Firstly, while it is acknowledged that many inequalities are inherent in the very decision of sending or not sending a child to school, this study has not dealt with issues of access, that is, it has only considered capabilities with respect to children who manage to attend school. This is because the very objective of the thesis is to evaluate children's educational capabilities across different schooling types, which can only be met by considering children attending school. Nonetheless, as later chapters

demonstrate, a conscious effort was made in the research exercise to achieve in-depth data concerning children's lives and possible initial disadvantage. Secondly, the study focuses on Grade 5 or roughly 9-10-year-old children in primary education in view of the fact that certain capabilities that fail to mature by such an age may not develop at a later stage. The deplorable state of primary education in Pakistan that reinforced this decision is discussed in the current and historical accounts presented in Chapter 1.

Organization of the Study

Since the use of capabilities with respect to school diversity in Pakistan is an innovative research area, it justified the choice of a mixed-methods (exploratory) research design with sequential data collection. The first phase (qualitative) comprised focus groups with children and their parents aimed at balancing universal lists of educational capabilities with local insights from participants. The second phase (quantitative) involved a capabilities questionnaire for children, using both theoretical and local valuations as well as a household survey to obtain richer information on each child participant. Qualitative findings for the study reflect on theoretically and contextually relevant educational capabilities and distinguish them by types of schools as well as categories of participants. Quantitative findings for the study discuss differences in children's educational capabilities across school types in Pakistan and the individual, family and household factors that potentially help explain such variation. Together, the two sets of findings highlight the complexities in development and evaluation of children's educational capabilities amidst school diversity in Pakistan.

The study proceeds in the following manner:

Chapter 1 provides contextual relevance for the given study by presenting the current deplorable state of education in Pakistan and a historical account of the emergence of differentiated education systems in the country. It provides a brief overview of contemporary research on education in Pakistan and justifies the rationale for the current study in light of such contextualization.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical link between capabilities and education through a detailed literature review. It discusses how existing literature on educational capabilities is necessary, but not sufficient, to apply to diverse research contexts and accordingly describes the ways in which the current study has built on existing theory to develop an appropriate

research methodology.

Chapter 3 addresses the broader issue of capability measurement by clarifying several methodological problems thought to impede the use of the CA and introduces the study's context-specific research design. While justifying the use of chosen qualitative and quantitative research methods, it additionally describes practical procedures and challenges in implementing some of them in the educational context of Pakistan.

Chapter 4 reports qualitative findings from the field, discussing participant views from focus groups conducted with children and parents across public, private and private religious schools in Lahore (site of fieldwork). In addition to describing and comparing their valued educational capabilities, the chapter draws attention to certain institutional factors in schools as well as contextual factors that potentially impact children's educational capabilities.

Chapter 5 reports quantitative findings from the field, specifying a statistical model to analyse information collected through the two quantitative tools: capabilities questionnaire and household survey. It addresses the study's primary research question, namely, how do children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schooling in the country and reports (i) whether children's capabilities vary according to type of schooling in Pakistan, and (ii) whether such variation can be explained by certain individual, family and household factors.

Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the discussion by summarizing overall findings of the thesis and highlighting their contribution to existing research. It also indicates the study's implications for future research on education policy planning in Pakistan and education and the CA in general.

Chapter 1: Context

Introduction

Pakistan is the sixth most populous country in the world, but with low human development. Performing worse than comparable countries with regard to most HDI indicators, the country presents a particularly deplorable picture of education with low achieved levels of access, attainment, quality and parity. From an economic perspective, such educational neglect affects individuals' skills, employment and socio-economic mobility, but from a broader human development perspective, it affects what they are able to be and do in their personal and collective lives. This draws attention not only to contextual factors, such as income growth, poverty and inequality, which permeate people's educational experiences to reinforce existing social inequalities, but also institutional features, such as the country's historical and deep-rooted tiered education system (public, private and religious), catering to distinct socio-economic groups and promoting inequality in and through education. The current study therefore has addressed how the resultant school diversity affects children's educational capabilities in Pakistan and whether certain individual, family and household factors can explain potential differences across different school types.

The purpose of the current chapter is to establish contextual relevance for the research objectives stated above. Section 1.1 provides a bird's eye view of growth in Pakistan and its failure to translate into desired human development in the face of future development challenges. Section 1.2 delves deeper into the country's educational context relevant to the given study, presenting its current deplorable state as reflected in various education indicators and a historical account of the emergence of differentiated education systems in the country. The latter addresses two key aspects: (i) how Pakistan's colonial legacy laid the foundations of a tiered education system, and (ii) why, despite provisions for education in ensuing national development plans, the state has failed to develop a strong public education system and avoid the institutionalization of tiered education over time. Finally, Section 1.3 maps contemporary research on primary education in the country and justifies the rationale for the current study in light of such contextualization.

1.1 Human Development at a Glance

Pakistan's demographic profile poses two chief concerns for human development. Firstly, the

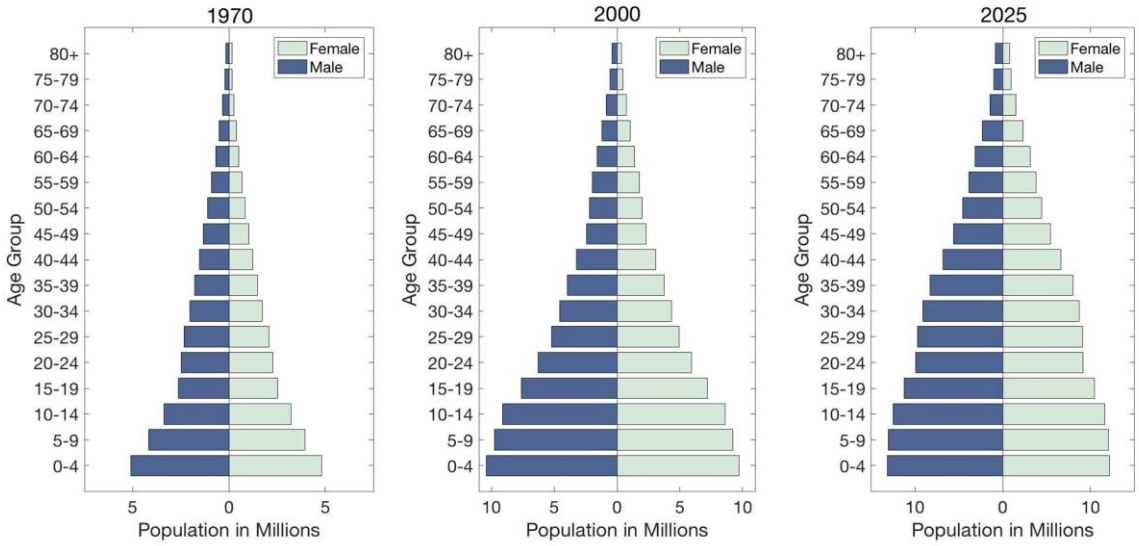
country's absolute population size of approximately 189 million renders it the sixth most populous country in the world (following China, India, USA, Indonesia and Brazil) (WB, 2016c)[1], implying that any growth and development in the country must cater to a large population. A greater proportion of these people, that is approximately 60 per cent, lives in rural areas (MoF, 2015). Secondly, trends in population growth shown in Figures 1.1 and 1.2 indicate a rapid rise not only in the total number of people, but also the total number of *young* people so that a majority of the country today (nearly 52%) is less than 24 years of age. Population projections for the next decade indicate a continued increase in the young, particularly those aged 0-9, before the country demographically transitions to a lower number of dependants (MoF, 2015; WB, 2013). Such a demographic profile poses serious developmental challenges in the face of low or constrained youth employment (MoF, 2015) as well as low human development in the country.

Pakistan ranks 147 out of the 188 countries included in the Human Development Index (UNDP, 2015) with an HDI (0.538) lower than that of neighbouring countries like Bangladesh (0.570) and India (0.609) as well as the South Asia region (0.607), and only marginally higher than the average for low-HDI countries (0.505) (UNDP, 2015). Indicators such as life expectancy at birth, mean and expected years of schooling for the country consistently depict poorer performance than Bangladesh, India and South Asia as a whole (UNDP, 2015). Such low human development may partly be attributed to low achieved economic growth in recent years and partly to the failure of the gains in growth to improve people's lives (MHHDC, 2015). Pakistan is categorized as lower middle income with a per capita GDP (constant 2010 US$) of $1,152 (WB, 2016b) and while the country's growth has been positive in recent years (for instance, approx. 4% in 2015), real GDP growth rate comparisons between 2009 and 2015 show poorer absolute and relative performance compared to that of other countries in South Asia, such as Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka (MoF, 2015). Low income and low income growth are also combined with high poverty and inequality in the country. Head count poverty in Pakistan in 2013/14 reveals that 29.5 per cent or roughly 60 million of its population live below the poverty line[2], but this figure is exacerbated by the estimates of multidimensional poverty revealed in the country's

[1] According to the Pakistan Economic Survey 2014-15 (MoF, 2015), the country's total population in 2015 was 191.7 million, that is, higher than WB estimates. The discrepancy in figures is attributed to the absence of a population census in recent years. Pakistan's last population census was held nearly two decades ago, in 1998.

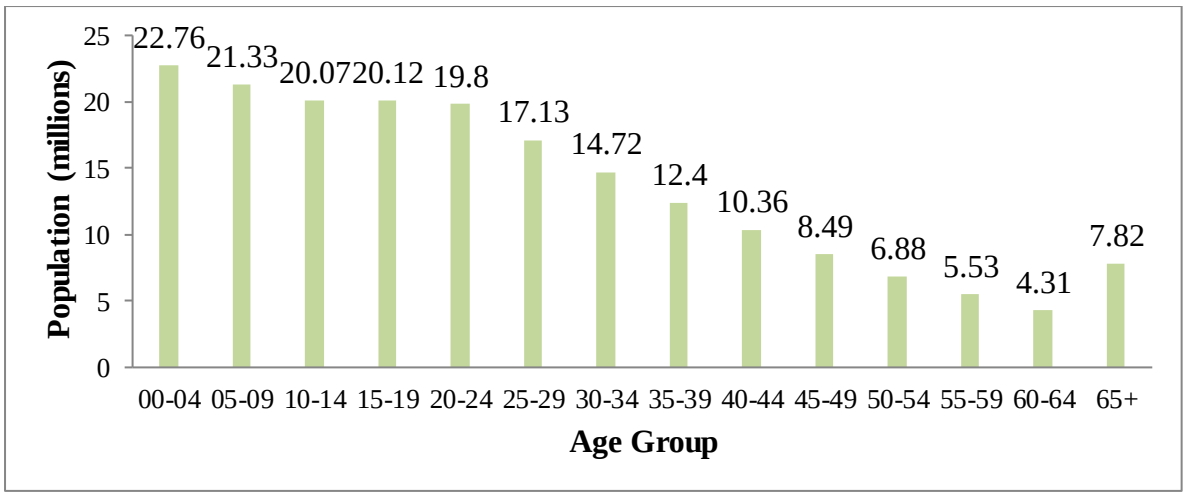
2 This refers to Pakistan's national poverty line in 2013/14, that is, Rs.3, 030 per adult equivalent per month (approx. US$1.00/day).

Figure 1.1 Trends in Population Growth (1970 – 2025)



Source: WB, 2016a

Figure 1.2 Population Composition by Age (2015)



Source: MoF, 2015

recently launched national Multidimensional Poverty Index Report (UNDP, 2016). It is observed that the proportion of people recognized as multi-dimensionally poor or the incidence of poverty is 38 per cent, while the intensity of poverty or the average percentage of dimensions in which poor people are deprived is 50.9 per cent. Together, the two figures produce an MPI of 0.197 indicating that multi-dimensionally poor people in Pakistan experience 19.7 per cent of the total deprivation that would be experienced if all people were deprived in all indicators and dimensions of the index (UNDP, 2016). Levels of

multidimensional poverty also display regional tendencies, being the highest in Balochistan and the lowest in Punjab province, as well as rural-urban disparities, with the proportion of multi-dimensionally poor living in urban areas being significantly lower than that in rural areas (UNDP, 2016).

The general characterization of low human development, low or insufficient economic growth, high poverty and high inequality draw particular attention to educational issues in Pakistan. This is partly because poor education appears to be both a cause and effect of the growth and development challenges highlighted above, and partly because educational improvements seem imperative if an alternative to the same must emerge from a human development perspective. The next section therefore addresses education in Pakistan in detail.

1.2 Education in Pakistan

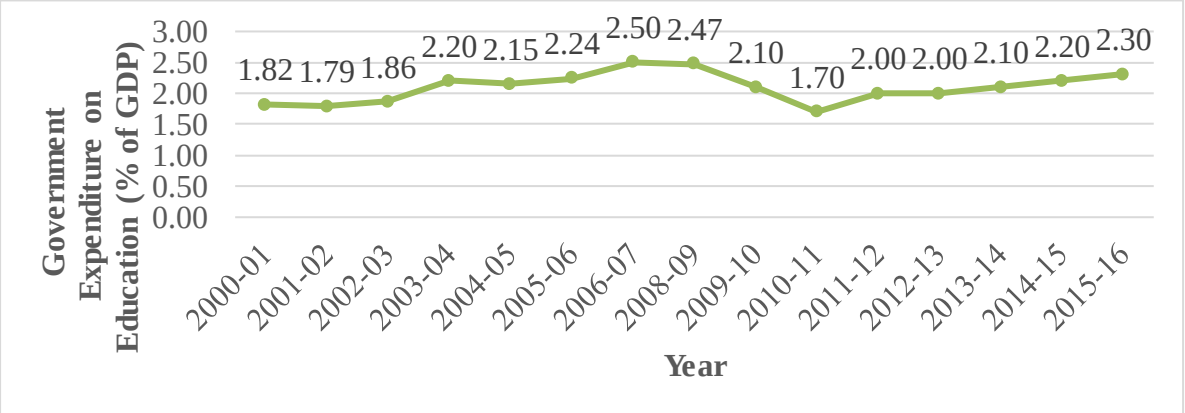
1.2.1 Education and Education Inequality Today

Pakistan's deplorable state of education is reflected in its low education development indicators, even when qualitative aspects are completely ignored. Illiteracy remains high at nearly 42 per cent, even when literacy figures are conflated, defined as an individual's ability to write his/her name (PC, 2015). When considering the country's MPI, it is observed that the education dimension is the greatest contributor to multidimensional poverty, and that years of schooling and school attendance are the first and third most important contributory indicators (UNDP, 2016)[3]. Mean years of schooling, namely, the average number of years of education received by individuals aged 25 years or older is only 4.7 years in Pakistan[4] (UNDP, 2015). The country also possesses the world's second largest out-of-school population after Nigeria (UNESCO, 2012) and experiences high drop-out rates at all levels of schooling. As highlighted above in Figure 1.2, roughly a quarter, or 50.8 million, of the country's population is between 5 and 16 years of age. Nearly a half or 24 million of these children are out of school, that is, they have either dropped out or never seen the inside of a school (AEPAM, 2016). About a third of total primary age children drop out, that is, the survival rate to Grade 5 is roughly 66 per cent (AEPAM, 2014a), while drop-out rates at higher levels of education are even higher: 53 per cent for middle, 61 per cent for high and 77 per cent for

[3] Deprivation in years of schooling results if no man OR woman more than 10 years of age in a household has completed five years of schooling, and deprivation in school attendance results when any school-aged child between 6 and 11 years of age is not attending school.
[4] Pakistan ranks 36 from the bottom for mean years of schooling in the list of 188 countries included in the HDI.

higher secondary education (AEPAM, 2016). There is little surprise therefore that the expected years of schooling or the number of years of schooling that a child of school-entrance age can expect to receive if prevailing patterns of age-specific enrolment rates persist throughout the child's life is only 7.8 years (UNDP, 2015). These figures also indicate Pakistan's failure to meet the Millennium Development Goal of Universal Primary Education, and it is estimated that at the current rate of progress Pakistan will not be able to grant all children their constitutional right to education before 2041, 2049, 2064 and 2100 in Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan respectively (PETF, 2011). The dismal state of education in Pakistan may additionally be explained by the fact that government spending on the sector has historically remained low (WB, 2017; Malik and Naveed, 2012). Figure 1.3 below, for

Figure 1.3 Government Expenditure on Education (2000 – 2016)



Source: MoF, 2009; MoF, 2010; MoF, 2014 and MoF, 2017

instance, shows how government expenditure on education as a percentage of the country's GDP in the past 16 years has remained poor and averaged around only half, that is, 2.10 per cent of the 4 per cent desired by educationists and policy-makers.

Issues related to low access and attainment and high drop-out, however, narrate only part of the story. For those who do manage to attend school in Pakistan, the educational experience – as in many other economies – remains an unequal one. When adjusted for inequality, Pakistan's HDI plummets from 0.538 to 0.377, with the greatest loss in potential human development being attributed to inequality in education (44.4%). Again, this loss is larger compared to that of Bangladesh and India, the South Asia region and the cohort of low-HDI

countries (UNDP, 2015)[5]. For many children attending school in Pakistan, educational experiences often reinforce existing social inequalities based on income, gender, religion, ethnicity and other social groups and regional and spatial disparities. For instance, the expected years of schooling is higher for males than females (8.5 years compared to 7 years) and the mean years of schooling for males is exactly double that of females (6.2 years compared to 3.1 years) (UNDP, 2015). Similarly, drop-out ratios are mostly higher for females across all levels of education (AEPAM, 2016)[6]. Gender differences are also more pronounced in rural areas (Bhatti, Malik and Naveed, 2011). Similarly, while most of Pakistan is rural and nearly 78 per cent of total educational institutes are based in rural areas, only 21 per cent of these are characterized by private provision which is generally considered to offer better quality education. In contrast, of the small proportion of educational institutes in urban areas (21%), an overwhelming majority is private (66%) (AEPAM, 2016). Thus individuals' educational experiences in Pakistan are tainted with different permutations and combinations of inequalities depending on personal circumstance and socio-economic factors.

Amidst various types of inequalities, however, what becomes a cause of greater concern, and consequently the subject of this study, is the overarching *institutionalization* of a tiered education system in Pakistan catering to distinct socio-economic groups. This adds an additional layer of differentiation, and promotes inequality in and through education. Historically, these tiers may broadly be categorized as elitist private English-medium schools, public schools and religious schools or Madrassas. The emergence of such parallel streams, as argued below, may partly be attributed to the country's pre and post-colonial context and partly to the failure to develop a strong state education system in subsequent years. The country's latest National Education Policy acknowledges the phenomenon of a tiered or differentiated education structure in the following words (MoE, 2009, p.27):

> *Broadly there are three parallel streams in education that have created unequal opportunities for children who manage to enter the education system. In addition there are sub-streams within each. The main ones are public sector schools, private schools and Madrassas. Within public sector and private sector schools there are*

[5] Even when considering the loss in overall potential human development, Pakistan's percentage loss (29.9%) is worse than that of Bangladesh (29.4%), India (28.6%) and South Asia as a whole (28.7%) (UNDP, 2015), hinting at stark inequalities.
[6] Pakistan's GDI is also worse than that of comparable countries and regions mentioned above (UNDP, 2015).

elite and non-elite schools. The former caters to the economic elite only while the latter like Cadet Colleges, at least conceptually, allow talented children of the lower middle classes also. These elite schools cater to a very small minority of school going children. The bulk of lower middle class to poor children study in the non-elite low quality private and public schools. Most of these schools fail to produce students who can compete for high end jobs to allow vertical social transition.

Two points are noteworthy here. Firstly, the educational landscape in Pakistan has changed tremendously in recent years, with private education provision becoming a significant phenomenon. The total share of private schools is believed to have increased from 12 per cent to 27 per cent between 1997 and 2004 (LEAPS, 2008) and according to one estimate, the number of private schools increased by 68 per cent compared to a mere 8 per cent increase in government schools between 1999-00 and 2007-08 (I-SAPS, 2010)[7]. This includes a large and mostly unregulated surge in low-fee private schools. And while typical classifications of private schools usually distinguish between high-cost and low-cost and English-medium and Urdu-medium schools (following local or foreign board syllabi), private educational institutions can in reality be classified according to a much broader range of categories and characteristics, for example, private faith-based schools established to promote certain kinds of religious or secular education, of which some are conservative while others are considered to operate in accordance with the requirements of the modern age (I-SAPS, 2010). Currently, 69 per cent of all educational institutes in Pakistan are public, and 31 per cent, private[8]. Secondly, while private schools are generally considered to offer better quality education (Malik, 2014), prior research indicates this may not necessarily be the case, that is, not all government schools are poorly performing, and the average for government schools may be driven down by a large number of failing schools (LEAPS, 2008). Both public and private providers therefore span a quality spectrum with differences between high- and low-performing schools (Malik, 2014).

[7] Pakistan conducted its first National Education Census in 2005, including both public and private institutions but no such census has been conducted or tracked the growth in private institutions since then. AEPAM (2016) compares recent trends in the growth of public and private institutions but estimates for the latter are only extrapolations of past (2005) figures. According to AEPAM (2016), private institutions continued to show an increase overall as well as primary educational institutes between 2012 and 2015. Accurate estimation of the size and share of private provision, however, remains difficult as lack of data on private schools prevents mapping of historical trends in market shares and patterns of enrolment (Malik, 2014).

8 Madrassas, which account for roughly 6 per cent of total educational institutes, are 97 per cent private and 3 per cent public (AEPAM, 2016). However, they account for a very small proportion, 1-3 per cent, of total enrolment (LEAPS, 2008). Enrolment is roughly commensurate with the sector-wise distribution of number of institutes, that is, 63 per cent of all educational enrolment is public, and 37 per cent private (AEPAM, 2016).

A natural enquiry at this stage concerns the emergence of such a multi-tier education structure in Pakistan and its institutionalization over time. This historical perspective is provided by the following section which analyses education service delivery in post-independence Pakistan in light of its colonial past.

1.2.2 A Brief History of Education in Pakistan

Since Pakistan obtained independence from colonial India in 1947, a historical account of education in the country may appropriately be provided by examining pre- and post-independence contexts. Part of the following analysis therefore briefly examines education in colonial India during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to trace the emergence of cracks in Pakistan's education system. The second subsection on post-independence developments in education, on the other hand, discusses why the country has failed to develop a single, strong public education system and how cracks in the system continued to widen in the face of political shifts and changing roles of public and private education providers.

1.2.2a The Pre-Partition Scenario

While the British were occupied with expanding and consolidating their political empire in colonial India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the turn of the latter left them more firmly established, allowing them to pursue developments in fields like education (Sultan, 2011). The beginning of the nineteenth century therefore marked an important era in which specific policies adopted by the East India Company and later the British Crown had important implications for the content and delivery of education throughout India. Before British intervention, India was largely characterized by a system of indigenous schools managed by natives. According to Mohapatra (2003, p.26):

> *The indigenous educational system was fundamentally a people's education – of the people, by the people and for the people. The schools were financed by the community and in turn served its needs. The curriculum may seem rudimentary, more so in the light of the present day curricular expansions; but was highly pragmatic and thoroughly utilitarian.*

The dominant types of indigenous schools included *Madrassas* (chiefly Muslim) teaching the

Quran, Arabic language and literature, law, logic and the sciences; the Sanskrit *Tols*; the Sikh *Gurmukhis*; the Persian *Maktabs* open to all religious dominations; the *Mahajani* schools catering to the commercial and trading classes, and *domestic* schools run by private tutors for children of individual families. The decision to promote an English education in the earlier half of the nineteenth century, however, had a decisive impact on these indigenous schools, leading to their decline and virtual extinction by the turn of the nineteenth century. In the early 1800s, parliamentary debates in Britain regarding an 'English' education in India had their origins in different positions of evangelists, liberals and utilitarians. Evangelists considered instruction in English imperative for India in order for the wonders of Christianity and Western science and literature to dawn upon it. Utilitarians, like James Mill, on the other hand, maintained that the primary objective of such instruction ought to be 'useful knowledge' as opposed to 'Hindu knowledge', with less astute thinkers believing the former was characterized by European knowledge and the European language, English. A letter attributed to Mill dated 1824[9] states (Cutts, 1953, p.825):

> *With respect to the sciences, it is worse than useless to employ persons either to teach or to learn them in the state in which they are found in Oriental books…The great end should not have been to teach Hindu learning but useful learning.*[10]

The argument that eventually defined the contours of the then Governor General of India, Lord Bentinck's education policy in 1835, however, emerged from the liberal, Thomas Macaulay, the Law Member of the Council of the Governor General and President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Macaulay believed that no education was worth its name except unless imparted in English. Moreover, despite his own doubt that India could be transformed into an English-speaking country, Macaulay insisted that such an education was necessary to promote Indian loyalty to British rule. In his famous Minute on Education, he says (Cutts, 1953, p.825):

> *I feel…that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be*

[9] A copy of the letter is found in the Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company and Minutes of Evidence printed in 1833 on the orders of the Honourable Court of Directors.

[10] Cutts (1953) clarifies that Mill himself did not specifically subscribe to English-language instruction as the educational medium, neither was the utilitarian phrase of 'useful learning' engrafting traditional learning with Western ideas new to educational debates in colonial India.

interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to ... convey knowledge to the great mass of the population.

Thus the fate of education in 1835 was settled in favour of the Anglicists advocating English-medium instruction as opposed to the Orientalists longing for vernacular education. Macaulay's famous Minute, the memorandum on education (from which the above quote is drawn), also laid the foundations of the downward filtration theory by which the Company avoided any direct responsibility for the education of the masses and instead relied on educating a particular class of persons in English as a means of ultimately educating the masses through the Indian languages (Nurullah and Naik, 1951, p.113). It was also decided that all government money would be spent on English education alone. Later, the adoption of English as the language of public business and courts in1844 and Hardinge's Resolution advocating preferential employment in public services for individuals educated in English placed a premium on English, while Sanskrit and Arabic scholars became second-rate citizens, their learning lacking governmental recognition (Mohapatra, 2003, p.62). A compulsory fee was also levied on education making the pursuit of it difficult for the common man accustomed to the self-subsisting indigenous school system. Meanwhile, grants in aid continued to be allotted to schools that charged a fee and to secondary or higher education institutions rather than primary ones (Nurullah and Naik, 1951, p.323). The latter therefore continued to decline in the face of such events.

This is not to say that all was bleak; several educational developments in the latter half of the nineteenth century displayed greater sympathy for the masses as well as local education. The 1854 Wood's Despatch (often referred to as the Magna Carta of Education in India), for instance, acknowledged that little was done to educate the masses in provinces like Bengal. Five years later, the 1859 Stanley Despatch also accepted that vernacular schools were not paid sufficient attention, such reports culminating in the Local Self Government Act of 1885 which transferred the power to establish, finance and manage schools to local governments. Moreover, nearly a century later, the Vernacular Scheme of 1901 contrasted Macaulay's stance by advancing two major considerations for primary education (Mohapatra, 2003, p.165):

The first and most important being that a child's earliest education must be conveyed

through a language medium which is familiar to him; while the second is the most natural and proper desire that education should not alienate children from their own environment.

Despite such efforts, however, primary education had dwindled by the turn of the nineteenth century for three main reasons (Nurullah and Naik, 1951). Firstly, the British maintained an unexplainable silence on the need for compulsory primary education in India even as late as 1902, whereas compulsory education had been universally introduced in England under the Acts of 1870, 1876 and 1880. Secondly, while primary education was transferred to local bodies and provincial governments, they were financially handicapped as wealth was concentrated at the centre and thus failed to improve the condition of primary schools. Finally, the neglect of the indigenous schools in the subcontinent and their virtual extinction by the end of the nineteenth century also administered a serious blow to elementary education.

It is interesting, as well as important, to observe at parallel Muslim education in colonial India which carries special historical relevance in terms of being one of the many factors fuelling Muslim nationalism and eventually resulting in the creation of Pakistan. By the latter half of the nineteenth century, several Muslim leaders, including intellectuals like Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, became concerned about the lack of progress of Muslim education and feared increased exclusion from the benefits of a Western education vis-à-vis their Hindu counterparts. A range of sociocultural, religious and political reasons have been advanced to explain the failure of Muslim education in the nineteenth century. Some argue that the Muslims resisted English education out of a fear of the encroachment of Christianity upon their own religion and the religious education imparted in Madrassas. Thorpe (1965) explains how religion had always been an important element in Muslim education, a centuries-old tradition and Mughal legacy which was threatened by the secular, Westernized education proposed by the British (Sevea, 2011). Others, on the other hand, allege that the 1857 War of Mutiny left the British with increasing suspicion of Muslim loyalty, causing them to disproportionately favour Hindus when it came to employment opportunities in public office to ensure loyalty to the Crown. Still others attribute it to sheer neglect and British apathy towards Muslim populations, for example, Mallick (1961) states that absolutely no attempt was made to study the requirements of the Muslim community and to devise an education system suited to their needs.

Rahim (1992), however, offers a unique explanation rooted in the political economy of education in one of the colonial Muslim-majority provinces, Bengal, explaining how limited economic growth under the colonial government created unequal development which diminished the opportunities for Bengali Muslims to access Western education. The urban population of Bengal was overwhelmingly drawn from the trading classes, largely comprising upper-caste Hindus, while the Muslims were landless labourers residing in rural areas. Thus, when the downward filtration theory interacted with the division of labour and spatial dynamics of Bengal, it created unequal opportunities for the Hindus and Muslims. Moreover, the economic conditions of the peasantry financially constrained their ability to pay school fees and improve the condition of indigenous schools, whereas the rent-seeking Hindu *zamindars* (landholders) also found it in their interest to keep the Muslim peasantry illiterate and unacquainted with revenue rules and regulations. The plight of primary education also became evident in the other Muslim-majority province of Punjab. Annexed to the Company in 1849, the British longed to ascribe the best of organizational and administrative abilities to the fertile province, yet by the turn of the nineteenth century only a handful of institutions catering to an aspiring elite thrived, while the indigenous school system was in the doldrums and mass education had failed to materialize (Sultan, 2011). Sultan (2011) also details the dismal state of indigenous schools in colonial India through the historical accounts of Leitner – a renowned educationist and linguist of the period – who criticized the foreign medium of instruction in government primary schools[11], the ill-developed curricula and administrative and inspectional lapses on the part of the governing bodies. In short, progress in primary education was trifling for nearly a century in the Muslim-majority provinces of Punjab and Bengal.

The powers of colonization and decolonization inked the educational imprint of post-independence Pakistan. According to Thorpe (1965), Pakistan inherited a system in which educational opportunities remained limited only to those who contributed to the skills required by the government. Interestingly, therefore, with the process of decolonization unfolded a form of internal colonialism in the country: the premium on English education continued to benefit a rapidly proliferating bureaucracy in Pakistan's initial years. Just as an English-medium education was the preserve of the aristocracy and professional classes in colonial India, it came to be enjoyed by the children of the powerful military and bureaucracy

[11] Indigenous schools also suffered when the British adopted a policy of promoting Urdu instead of Persian as it broke the continuity of learning in a province that had revered Persian for generations (Sultan, 2011).

in Pakistan (Rahman, 2005). It may be said that the colonial legacy of an English-medium education, also perceivably more useful, laid the foundations of a structured or differentiated education system in Pakistan. As evidenced in the following section, the focus increasingly shifted to the instrumentality of education in later years. Mohapatra (2003, p.89) explains how this phenomenon also held for colonial India where declining enrolment and attendance at public schools resulted from the simple reason that people did not desire an education for their children that was irrelevant to decent employment in future. This, of course, was associated with the lack of 'usefulness' and neglect of indigenous schools by the British. Such detachment may also possibly explain the address by Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder and first Governor-Genera, on the eve of the First All Pakistan Educational Conference in Karachi, 1947. He is reported to have said
(Aly, 2007, p.1):

> *You know that the importance of education and the right type of education cannot be over-emphasized. Under foreign rule for over a century, in the very nature of things, I regret, sufficient attention has not been paid to the education of our people, and if we are to make any real, speedy and substantial progress, we must earnestly tackle this question and bring our educational policy and program on the lines suited to the genius of our people, consonant with our history and culture, and having regard to the modern conditions and vast developments that have taken place all over the world.*

As the following analysis indicates, however, the advice was soon lost amid fluctuating priorities in education, with shifting civilian-military government cycles as well as political and financial neglect. Section 1.2.2b highlights the main tenets of educational policy planning in Pakistan for the years after independence between 1955 and 2010 with a special focus on the content and delivery of primary education where applicable. Unless otherwise specified, the primary sources employed for education policy analysis are the country's five-year growth plans and national education policies under different regimes. The analysis focuses on two aspects of relevance: i) the qualitative nature of developmental and particularly education priorities and ii) the seeds or emergence of a tiered education structure[12]. It provides possible responses to why a strong state education failed to develop over time and why a multi-tiered

[12] While a quantitative review of desired and achieved educational targets was also conducted in comparing different policy plans, it has been excluded due to space limitations.

education structure emerged in Pakistan.

1.2.2b Education in Post-Independence Pakistan

Political Instability and Incoherence in Development Policy

A chronological review of Pakistan's overall development objectives during different growth plans makes evident why sustained educational reform did not materialize in the post-independence years. Table 1.1 highlights fluctuating development priorities under different political regimes, which, when combined with factors like of lack of political stability and will and financial commitment, directly influenced the nature and course of educational

Table 1.1 Development Focus under Various Growth Plans

Year	Growth Plan	Development Focus
1955-1960	First Five-Year Plan	Human development.
1960-1965	Second Five-Year Plan	Infrastructural growth and industrialization.
1965-1970	Third Five-Year Plan	Rapid economic growth.
1971-1976[13]	Fourth Five-Year Plan	Equality of distribution.
1983-1988	Sixth Five-Year Plan	Basic needs.
1988-1993	Seventh Five-Year Plan	Continuation of basic needs in light of social and political realities.
1993-1998[14]	Eighth Five-Year Plan	Macroeconomic management and good governance/ Structural adjustment/ liberalization/ privatization.
2005-2010	Medium-Term Development Framework	Industrialization/ growth/ total factor productivity.

priorities and objectives. For instance, the theoretical objectives of Pakistan's First Five-Year Plan (1955-1960) came close to the human development paradigm as it is understood today, that is, in addition to prioritizing resource allocation to 'promote people's welfare, provide adequate living standards and social services and secure social justice' (PC, n.d.a, p.1), equality was emphasized as a primary objective in both its positive and negative aspects. In its positive aspects, it marked the recognition of the human personality and provision of opportunities in proper relation to the talents and capabilities of each individual such that no

[13] Two versions for the Fifth Plan emerged from Pakistan's third military coup by General Zia ul Haq in 1977, toppling Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government and declaring General Zia President of Pakistan the following year (PC, 1977; PC, 1978). The period (1977/78-1982/83) is thus ignored owing to political confusion.

[14] The Ninth Five-Year Plan could not be located, possibly because the Five-Year Plans were subsequently replaced by the Medium-Term Development Frameworks.

one would lack a chance to develop the best in him or her self (PC, n.d.a, p.3). In its negative aspects, equality connoted absence of discrimination of all kinds, and marked respect for 'human dignity' as the basic value of a free society (PC, n.d.a, p.6). However, Pakistan underwent its first military coup in 1958 before the developmental objectives in the First Five-Year Plan could be met, and lack of economic progress – owing to factors like adverse weather affecting grain production and imports, declining terms of trade and dwindling foreign exchange reserves – shifted the developmental focus under the Second Five-Year Plan (1960-1965) to infrastructural growth and industrialization. The Second Plan therefore prioritized allocation of resources to increased agricultural production and industrial and infrastructural development of railways, roads, water and power etc. to promote growth and reduce balance of payment problems rather than support social development.

The trend of fluctuating priorities continued in subsequent years. The Third Five-Year Plan (1965-1970) endorsed rapid economic growth despite conflicting social and political goals, naively assuming a trickle-down effect like several economies at that time (PC, n.d.b, p.40):

> *Conflicts of objectives are inevitable in any plan…their reconciliation is always a delicate and difficult task… The requirements for rapid economic growth are, to some degree, in conflict with social and political objectives. It is to rapid growth that the nation must look to free itself from poverty, disease, ignorance and inequalities.*

However, the Plan coincided with a period of political turmoil in Pakistan when it encountered war with India in 1965, on one hand, and widening inequalities between its East and West Wings, on the other. By 1969, economic and political grievances in the country had worsened to an extent that a second period of martial law was imposed and the constitution was dissolved. In what were the country's first ever democratic elections in 1971, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, a socialist and President of the Pakistan People's Party, assumed power in West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujib ur Rehman, leader of the dominant political party Awami League, in East Pakistan. The gulf between the two Wings, however, soon gave way to the secession of East Pakistan, now Bangladesh, coinciding with a second war with India in 1971.

Realizing the cost of aggressive and unequal economic growth during the 1960s and the loss of East Pakistan in 1971, the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1971-1976) adopted a more rigorous social policy. It prioritized slow but relatively equal distribution of growth over rapid but

unequal economic development and claimed to operate in the wide area where economic growth and social justice were not in conflict. The Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Five-Year plans that followed upheld a similar development spirit. In fact, the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1983-1988) broadly aligned itself with global developmental debates of that era, criticizing growth without development and arguing for basic needs, marking an important shift in policy considerations (PC, n.d.d, p.10):

> *[The Plan's] basic approach is to help the poor emerge from their poverty. Its policies would enable them to earn or obtain the necessities of life-nutrition, housing, water and sanitation, and especially education and health – and thus to increase their productivity and to establish equality of opportunity. Its real impact will be reflected in the happiness of a rural family whose home is suddenly brightened by electricity. It will be mirrored in the faces of those children who for once get an opportunity to lead a healthy and educated life. It will be expressed in the relief of a simple farmer who no longer has to bend down to drink polluted water from a dirty pond. It will be measured by the full reward of an honest day's labour.*

The decade following the Sixth Plan, however, that is, 1988-1998, was again one of political confusion with four elected governments and three interim administrations. Critics argue that preoccupied with prolonging their stay, elected governments paid little attention to economic development in general and social development in particular, and that under the watch of these administrations, public sector education deteriorated significantly (Bengali, 1999). Moreover, during the 1990s, the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1993-1998) committed to liberalization, structural adjustment, deregulation, privatization and a more open environment for both foreign and domestic investment – a shift from the prior focus on basic needs, equality and redistribution. In fact, the shift back to greater economic investment-led growth was reinforced by the Medium-Term Development Framework (2005-2010), which aligned itself to the long-term goals for 2030, envisioning a 'developed, industrialized, just and prosperous Pakistan through rapid and sustainable development in a resource constrained economy' (PC, 2005), with a primary focus on increasing total factor productivity.

It is little surprise that such shifts in Pakistan's development policy also affected state discourse on education and schooling in post-independence years, and reflected its educational priorities over time. The following section is dedicated to this analysis. As argued

below, political neglect and the resulting disconnect between policy decisions and actions in one growth plan and that of the next contributed to the emergence of a multi-tiered education structure and lack of development of a strong state education system.

Changing Educational Priorities

Access versus Quality: Table 1.2 highlights the prioritization of educational objectives during different regimes, which depended on the economic resources and the difficulties inherited from within the then education system. For instance, when the First Five-Year Plan was

Table 1.2 Educational Priorities under Growth Plans and Policies

Year	Growth Plan	Development Focus	Education Focus	Actions
1955-1960	1st Five-Year Plan	Human development	Quality	Qualitative improvements to emphasize local knowledge, tradition and culture.
1960-1965	2nd Five-Year Plan	Infrastructural growth and industrialization	Quantity (Access)	Quantitative improvements in number and speed of primary enrolment; Reliance on private sector.
1965-1970	3rd Five-Year Plan	Rapid economic growth	Quality	Qualitative improvements emphasizing scientific learning.
1971-1976	4th Five-Year Plan	Equality of distribution	Equality	Nationalization of schools to promote equitable access.
1983-1988	6th Five-Year Plan	Basic needs	Access	Increase in mosque schools; Islamization policy; Privatization/ reversal of nationalization policies.
1988-1993	7th Five-Year Plan	Continuation of basic needs in light of social and political realities	Literacy	Expansion of primary education; Private sector encouragement; Mosque schools.
1993-1998	8th Five-Year Plan	Structural adjustment/ liberalization/ privatization	Access	Expansion of private sector.
National Education Policy 1998-2010			Access	Crash condensed primary course; Non-formal education.
2005-2010	Medium-Term Development Framework	Industrialization/ growth/ total factor productivity	MDG	Primary education made compulsory; Regulation of private sector; Gender equality.

formulated, more than half the children between 6 and 11 years of age were not in school, and for those who did attend school, drop-out was high (approximately 67%). Thus Universal Primary Education – which made exacting demands in terms of increasing the number of the schools and trained staff – was a goal left to later governments. Expansion in the number of government schools was modest at best, while greater emphasis continued to be placed on qualitative improvements in reversing the impact of the British Raj which had "divorced education in government primary schools from children's hereditary culture and environment and exclusively emphasized reading, writing, and arithmetic" (PC, n.d.a, p.545). Qualitative improvements in the First Plan, however, were starkly contrasted by an overriding emphasis on quantity in the Second Five-Year Plan. In fact, by placing greater qualitative emphasis on higher levels of education, the Second Plan also encouraged a form of a hierarchy *within* the education system (PC, 1960, p.337):

> *…choices will be made differently for different levels of education and for different purposes. In the case of lower levels, such as primary and fundamental education, the emphasis must be on numbers and speed, while ensuring certain minimum standards. The higher the level and the more specialized the educational field, the greater must be the emphasis on quality.*

It may be noted that aligning itself with the broader aim of rapid growth and industrialization, the Second Plan viewed education as a productive activity and an investment in human resources to create an informed leadership and trained manpower. The objective of augmenting production possibilities therefore also ignored the intrinsic importance of tradition, culture and local knowledge that the First Plan was nostalgic about. This instrumental role of education in helping achieve economic growth continued to permeate the objectives of primary education under the Third Five-Year Plan (PC, n.d.b, p.190):

> *The child's experiences have to be given a practical orientation. The overall objectives of accelerating productivity in the economy have to be kept in view…Special emphasis is to be placed on laying the basis for scientific thinking.*

Thus the Third Plan also prescribed an educational trajectory for children based on scientific thinking and productivity enhancement rather than considering broader achievements in their

personal and collective lives[15]. The effects of adopting a qualitative or quantitative focus in education strategy, however, were more far-reaching than merely altering the role and content of education. Eclectic policies to improve access to education during later years, namely the 1980s and 1990s, and ultimately achieve the Millennium Development Goal of Universal Primary Education by the turn of the century marked other important changes in the educational landscape of Pakistan, such as private sector encouragement, increase in the number of mosque schools and non-formal education. The following sections, therefore, indicate how such enrolment-led policies resulted in further divides in education, such as public versus private provision and mosque-based/religious versus school-based/secular education.

Public versus Private Provision: The broader focus on equality under the First Five-Year Plan recognized the need to maintain a uniform primary school system even as early as 1955, and not to weaken it with parallel systems involving, for example, a variety of 'basic', 'fundamental' or 'village' schools (PC, n.d.a, p.547). Equality was also promoted across gender and regions as female education was prioritized and educational policy was tailored to the respective needs of East and West Pakistan aiming to bridge qualitative gaps and ensure equitable distribution of resources.

Interestingly, however, the societal impact of private enterprise vis-à-vis government provision in education had already begun to manifest itself as early as the Second Plan. Yet the Plan acknowledged the need for increasing reliance on the private sector to meet the educational demands of the country (PC, 1960, p.341):

> *In earlier years many of the private schools and colleges maintained a good standard and competed with government institutions in quality and efficiency. The very success they achieved, however, led to an unhealthy rivalry, particularly in the rural areas, and produced a large number of mushroom institutions incapable of maintaining high standards of instruction.*

In light of growing inequalities and institutionalization of a tiered education structure, the Fourth Plan argued for the need to regulate private provision. It advocated removal of

[15] As Chapter 2 explains, this is one of the primary differences between the human capital and human capabilities perspectives.

regional educational disparities to help strengthen national consciousness and unity by providing equal opportunities for all (PC, n.d.c, p.155):

> *English medium schools typically charge higher fees and, hence, are mostly open to the children of higher income groups. The madrassas, on the other hand, provide educational facilities for those who desired to specialize in religious subjects. The three categories of schools tend to create different value systems in society and have little in common with each other. In order that education serves as a unifying force, it is essential that the gulf existing between various types of schools is gradually narrowed down.*

Thus, as part of Bhutto's broader nationalization policy in 1972, private schools were also nationalized. As later years showed, however, the government's nationalization agenda went too far in stripping private institutions of their assets and properties without compensation to owners, and was tantamount to destroying an existing infrastructure rather than a systematic and gradual rollback of private sector involvement (Malik, 2014). The nationalization policy was also later reversed by General Zia in the 1980s, and grants in aid were provided to the private sector for the development of educational facilities. This is because the Sixth and Seventh Plans envisaged the government's role as that of a facilitator and promoter in catalyzing private investments than being a regulatory one (PC, n.d.d, p.16).

At the time of formulation of the Eighth Plan, literacy was a little over 35 per cent, and more than 50 per cent of the girls and 20 per cent of the boys of primary school age were out of school. Thus, the Eighth Plan targeted universal primary education and removal of gender and urban-rural disparities. At the same time, however, it is interesting to note the Plan's continued facilitation of the private sector, despite potential conflict with spatial and class disparities (PC, 1994, p.309):

> *With large migration of population to the cities, the local bodies have not been able to provide primary education facilities to the ever increasing urban population. Private sector has come forward to provide facilities for the children of upper-middle and higher income groups. The children from the lower income groups have no option but to seek admission in the Local Body schools, which has resulted in overcrowding and poor quality of education.*

The only compensation provided was provision of stipends for a select few children to pursue private sector education when public schools could not accommodate them. Other potentialities in widening the cracks between the two streams of education remained largely unaddressed and ignored. Nonetheless, the fact that nearly all growth plans during the first 50 years of Pakistan's development called attention to differences between public, private and Madrassa education partly indicated solidification of these differences and partly warned against the adverse consequences that would materialize otherwise. These were also explicitly mentioned in the country's recent national education policies. For instance, the 1998-2010 National Education Policy highlighted how, firstly, regardless of their medium of instruction, private institutes were not "developing as institutions of equal opportunity" and poor individuals' access to them remained elusive (MoE, 1998, p.109). Secondly, their contribution to UPE was marginal as being English-medium and charging high fees, they were located in urban areas and "better suited to serve the requirement of the elite population, hence contradicting the efforts towards an egalitarian society" (MoE, 1998, p.110)[16]. The latest 2009 National Education Policy also emphasized the need to reduce structural divides in Pakistan's education system (MoE, 2009, p.25):

> *Existence of insulated parallel systems of public and private education in Pakistan remains a cause for concern as it creates inequitable social divides. First, a small but important component of the private sector caters to the elite and offers high quality that only the rich can afford. Its long-term socio-economic impact is divisive for the society, not least in the relative neglect of improvements in the public sector. Second, Deeni Madrassas form a component of the private sector. The parallel system in this case consists of a curriculum that lies outside the mainstream.*

It addressed inequality of economic opportunities resulting from structural divides in education by highlighting how elitist private English-medium education increased individuals' chances of obtaining white collar jobs, while Madrassa education, in comparison, deprived students of skills that would enable them to seek employment outside the realm of duties associated with clerics (MoE, 2009, p.27). The issue at hand concerns a twofold link between tiered education and education inequality. Firstly, the historical narrative discussed

[16] A little over a year after the Policy was launched, however, civilian democracy was once again interrupted by a military coup under General Pervez Musharraf in 1999.

thus far highlights how factors such as affordability and socio-economic status tend to constrain individuals and households in their choice of schooling in Pakistan. Elitist private English medium schooling remains the prerogative of individuals and households higher up in the socio-economic hierarchy whereas the less affording resort to public schooling and traditional Madrassas. Thus, education inequality is inherent in the very decision of choosing a particular type of schooling, mediated by individuals' and households' initial disadvantage. Such accidents of birth into disadvantaged family environments affect children's skills and learning (Heckman, 2008). Secondly, participation in different types of schooling results in distinct educational trajectories that lead to very different life choices for individuals pursuing them. In other words, participation *in* a particular form of education or schooling correlates with the capabilities gained *through* that education. As argued in the next chapter, this link between tiered education and education inequality highlights the importance of evaluating people's educational capabilities across the different types of schooling in Pakistan and justifies the rationale for the current study.

Mosque-Based/Religious versus School-Based/Secular Schools: The prominence obtained by mosque schools in the later decades of Pakistan's development also contributed to the gap between public, private and religious education in the country. While the exact number of mosque schools in the early decades of development cannot be determined[17], their proportion remained lower than during the 1970s and 1980s. By the time of the implementation of the Fifth-Year Plans during the 1970s, Pakistan was lamenting a poor education system. Educational factors attributed to its failure in the Plans included poor quality facilities, difficult access, a school curriculum lacking relevance, absence of teaching aids and books, inadequacy of teachers and absenteeism, and outmoded procedures of supervision and administration. External factors included political upheaval, the impact of war with India and the separation of East Pakistan, low economic level of communities and poor standard of health and nutrition among others. Thus, by the time the Sixth Plan was introduced nearly 35 years after independence, Pakistan's literacy was still below 25 per cent and less than half the primary-age population was at school. Worse, participation rates revealed a decline in previous years, with female participation significantly lower than that of males.

The Sixth Plan, therefore, emphasized basic needs and rapid spread of public services to all

[17] This is because school and enrolment data collected by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics 1947-1997 included mosque schools in the category of primary schools.

segments of society. Ambitious targets were set for social development. A key strategy adopted for encouraging education was increasing the number of mosque schools, which were to have two teachers each, one being the imam or religious head of the mosque. The curriculum was also considered too demanding so it was decided that only religious instruction, reading and writing and elementary arithmetic would be taught till Grade 3. It is important to view such developments against the broader backdrop of Zia ul Haq's Islamization Policy, which was criticized for promoting religious extremism in various spheres including education[18]. According to Ashraf (2009), General Zia's Islamization further damaged the already deteriorating state of education in Pakistan by according official government patronage to Madrassas, offering financial incentives and recognition to the clergy and rewriting curricula with paramount emphasis on religious content and *jihad*.

While criticizing gender and spatial disparities in availability of schools, on one hand, it is interesting to note how the next growth plan, the Seventh Plan, announced mosque schools for smaller settlements (less than 500 people) on the other, as such a policy may have differentiated the quality and content of education. No significant quality targets were set, while curriculum objectives were defined as those designed to strengthen faith in Islam and Pakistani nationhood. It is important to consider the consequences of diversifying the schooling experience in such ways as the skills and worldviews adopted by children receiving education at a mosque school or facing an imam or religious teacher are likely to differ from those being educated at a generic public or private school[19]. Needless to say, such differences were further intensified by the qualitative characteristics of schools, like the schooling environment, teaching methods, facilities such as buildings and equipment, curriculum, opportunities for play and so on.

Two years short of the dawning of the twenty-first century, the 1998-2010 Education Policy revisited the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), adopting a rights-based approach to provide children with their fundamental right to education. The Policy materialized after exactly half a century of Pakistan's existence when 5.5 million children of primary school age were out of school still and the drop-out rate

[18] The permeation of Islamization is also reflected in the fact that each chapter in the Five-Year Plan under General Zia's regime commenced with a Quranic verse or Hadith.
[19] Considering employment, for instance, MoE (2009) describes how children educated at Madrassas lack the skills that would enable them to obtain employment outside the realm of duties associated with clerics, thus increasing social exclusion.

was significantly high. In the wake of ambitious physical targets, emphasis rested on an unprecedented increase in non-formal basic schools, aiming to expand overall participation at primary level (MoE, 1998, p.20). Those between 10 and 14 years of age who had missed primary education were to be provided with a 'crash condensed' course to complete primary education in two to three years. Whenever feasible, mosques were also to provide non-formal education. The Policy also laid repeated emphasis on Islamic education and proposed to integrate Madrassas with formal education by including in their curriculum some formal subjects like English, mathematics, general science, economics and Pakistan Studies. Formal education would then be equated with Madrassa education for the purpose of education certification for students.

The 2005-2010 Medium-Term Development Framework solemnly addressed the gravity of the education crisis in Pakistan by stating (PC, 2005):

> *Pakistan is poised at an extremely sensitive moment in time when the right choices, priorities, and strategies in education and all its manifestations can enable it to move forward on the path of sustainable and just development, but whose absence or poor implementation may deny this window of opportunity. It is necessary, therefore, to accelerate greater access to quality education at all tiers of education, and across all regions and peoples of the country…Apart from economic value for its user, education is an extremely important instrument for social mobility and cohesion within societies, and serves as a repository and defender of core national values and memories, leading to a society which is innovative and at peace with itself.*

The MTDF paid attention to achieving the MDG targets of UPE, literacy and promotion of gender equality and empowerment. Primary education was to be made compulsory through enactment, on one hand, and provision of free textbooks at primary level, on the other. Financial and nutritional incentives were to be given to both students and teachers to encourage female enrolment in rural areas. Additionally, the Framework identified the need to supervise the role of the private sector and regularly monitor private institutes' infrastructure, teaching standards, curricula and textbooks as well as balancing the private sector with requirements to provide quality education at the lowest possible cost. It also proposed to mainstream 8,000 Madrassas including the introduction of other subjects as well as the English language to bring them in line with national standards and accreditation.

Policies for provision of alternative pathways for Madrassa students to join the educational mainstream at post-school levels were also to be adopted.

Discussion

The above historical account provides possible responses to why a strong state education has failed to develop over time and why a multi-tiered education structure has emerged in Pakistan. Firstly, priorities in education oscillated with shifting civilian – military – civilian government cycles, implying lack of sustained, long-term development and vision for education. For example, while the First Plan (1955-60) envisioned equality of opportunity, subsequent military leadership under General Ayub Khan adopted an aggressive growth policy emphasizing the instrumental role of education and greatly encouraging private provision. The next civilian socialist government in the 1970s reversed privatization by nationalizing schools, while the subsequent military leadership under General Zia encouraged it again during the 1980s. Secondly, historians, journalists and educationists argue that educational priorities during each government were often nothing more than political slogans and strategies. For example, Saigol (2003) argues that General Ayub's education policy during the 1960s was driven by the need for modernization, and subsequent curriculum development forcefully homogenized a diverse population that had only recently been flagged as one country. Jones and Jones (1977) argue that Bhutto's slogan of nationalization of education was a political strategy to win the support of the masses, which in actuality did not help the underprivileged. In fact, the enthusiasm for nationalization diminished during implementation as almost 221 elite English-medium schools were exempted from nationalization. Zia's Islamization policy during the 1980s, on the other hand, resulted from failure of prior developmentalist models and only appealed in the name of religion (Saigol, 2003). Thirdly, lack of political commitment and neglect also implied that the education system was systematically starved of resources (ICAI, 2012) and there were incongruent allocations in most plans. Primary education suffered particularly as budgets were mostly allocated to higher institutions, and the overriding emphasis was on quantity, not quality (Khan and Mahmood, 1997).

Pakistan's education system is best summed up by Warwick and Reimers (1995, p. 121) who consider reform and innovation to be the two faces of improvement: over the years, education in Pakistan displayed no reform and little success in innovation as most strategies such as

private sector encouragement and creation of mosque schools, were only short-term matters of trial and error, often driven by a political agenda or strategy. The education crisis in Pakistan may thus largely be viewed as an outcome of its political crisis (Benz, 2012). Uniformity in schooling might have been tackled through public schooling but it was neglected for far too long, resulting in supply-side failures and an educational caste system in which the private sector gained increasing importance. Moreover, low-quality public schooling potentially also induced demand-side failures as parents and students felt the government itself put a very low priority on public education (Benz, 2012; Khan and Mahmood, 1997).

1.3 Contemporary Research and Relevance of Study

The implications of a historically multi-rooted education structure like Pakistan's are hard to ignore. Over time, the expansion in education provision – both in terms of quantity, such as the recent surge in private schools, as well as quality in terms of a broadened range of categories of schools – has significantly transformed the country's educational landscape. An important but often overlooked feature of policy research thus concerns how such changes in the educational marketplace are impacting children's lives through parental perceptions and decision-making in a high-poverty and high-inequality country context. It is crucial to consider how each tier of education combines with other permutations and combinations of inequalities to influence children's individual and collective lives. Encouragingly, contemporary research in Pakistan is gradually drawing attention to this avenue by exploring school choice decisions in light of parental perceptions and contextual factors. For instance, Ahmed et al. (2013) employ data from the Privatization in Education Research Initiative (PERI) School Choice Survey 2011 to explore why parents in rural Punjab choose low-cost private schooling for their children when free public schooling is available at the primary, secondary, and high school levels. The main variable of interest in understanding school choice in a rural setting is parental perception regarding (i) their child's competence (ii) the quality of the child's school, and (iii) the employment opportunities available in their region. Of these, their research indicates that parental perceptions regarding school quality and available employment opportunities in the region are important determinants of private school choice, alongside other household- and school-level factors such as the socio-economic status of the household, the degree of a school's accessibility and the cost of schooling. Similarly, Malik's (2014) research contributes to an understanding of how

marketization and decentralization of education translate into people's lives by examining schooling decisions at the primary and middle level in a district in Punjab. The study focuses on understanding how social, economic and cultural inequities mediate processes of school choice and affect parental participation, for example, school-parent interaction. Her findings suggest that wealthier and more educated parents choose and participate differently than low-income and less educated parents. The patterns also display segregation by school type, for example, low income parents are less likely to engage or initiate contact (such as school visits) in public schools rather than in fee-charging schools.

Such studies reinforce the importance of individual and household factors in influencing demand for schooling and academic achievement. For instance, using the Learning and Educational Achievement in Punjab Schools (LEAPS) set of studies, Andrabi, Das and Khwaja (2010) demonstrate that lack of income and limited opportunities to borrow can lead to low investment in children's learning. At the extreme, poverty can lead to some children dropping out of school – or not even enrolling – as parents ration limited resources and begin to 'pick winners' at an early age. Historical studies on primary education in previous decades, such as those of Arif et al. (1999), Hamid (1993) and Warwick and Reimers (1991), have also explored similar impacts of children's background characteristics and household constraints on the demand for schooling and academic achievement. But studies like those of Malik (2014) and Ahmed et al. (2013) depart from existing literature and research by exploring the role of parental *perceptions* in shaping school choice behaviour and participation mechanisms.

There are, however, two missing links in existing empirical research on perceptions and schooling decisions in Pakistan. Firstly, while prior studies have explored the role of mediating factors, such as poverty and income inequality, in shaping parental perceptions and decisions regarding school choice, no study has analysed the role of parents' perceived differences in schooling types – public, private and religious – and school-level factors themselves in decisions involving their children's education. In other words, no study has attempted an exploration of the types of education inequalities in the context of school diversity that parental decisions regarding children's schooling are based on. A related but unexplored aspect concerns parental perceptions regarding what they value in education for their children, and the extent of differentiation between the imparting of such valued roles of education across the three types of schools – public, private and religious – in Pakistan. Secondly, and more importantly, children's voices regarding what they would like education

to help them to be and do as well as their lived realities across different types of schooling are absent from policy research and action. While such a capabilities perspective on education policy planning remains unexplored in Pakistan's context, it contrasts with emerging literature on children and human development that advocates an active role for children in the development agenda (Biggeri, Ballet and Comim, 2011). This thesis aims to address the existing research gaps by combining inputs from various stakeholders such as schools, children and parents and demonstrating how integrated policy analysis may be achieved in a capabilities research study in Pakistan. It aims to address the following research questions:

(i) How do children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schooling in Pakistan?

(ii) How are potential differences in children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling mediated by certain individual, family and household characteristics?

As explained in subsequent chapters, the thesis identifies theoretically and contextually relevant educational capabilities, including discussions with children and parents, and objectively measures them among school-going children in Pakistan. The comparison of children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling demonstrates how their development (or lack thereof) under each fosters education inequality in the country. Additionally, the thesis employs qualitative and quantitative research to evaluate the role of certain individual, family and household characteristics in explaining potential variation in children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling.

Conclusion

In applying the CA to educational issues in Pakistan, the current chapter has contributed by establishing contextual relevance and highlighting historical elements in the evolution of parallel education systems in the country. It has demonstrated how Pakistan's colonial legacy laid the foundations of a tiered education system and how fluctuating development priorities under different political regimes during post-independence years – combined with lack of political stability and will and financial commitment –furthered the divide between public, private and religious schooling. The general characterization of low human development, low or insufficient economic growth, high poverty and high inequality, as explained in Section 1.1, also demonstrates how contextual factors permeate people's educational experiences to

reinforce existing social inequalities, promoting inequality in and through education. From a broader human development perspective, the different manifestations of education inequality in Pakistan's context affect what people are able to be and do in their personal and collective lives. This justifies the rationale for the current study exploring how children's educational capabilities differ amidst school diversity. By asking questions like *What kinds of inequalities result from differentiated school systems?* and *In what ways do differences across school types restrict or expand children's freedoms to be and do certain things?*, the study offers a broader alternative to measuring education inequality in Pakistan. The next chapter sheds light on the usefulness of such a capabilities perspective in exploring education inequality with respect to school diversity in the country, and describes how the inherent incompleteness within the approach is appropriately combined with other sources of information to meet the current study's research objectives.

Chapter 2: Capabilities and Education

Introduction

In highlighting the issue of education inequality with respect to school diversity in Pakistan, Chapter 1 set the stage for assessment of inequality in at least some space, for example, learning outcomes, school performance, future earnings or economic opportunities and so on. The current chapter is aimed at arguing how such space is appropriately provided by educational capabilities identified within the Capability or Capabilities Approach[20] literature and also at establishing its relevance to the particular research problem concerning Pakistan's diverse school systems. In doing so, the chapter highlights how existing literature on educational capabilities is necessary but not sufficient to apply to diverse research contexts and accordingly describes the ways in which the current study builds on existing theory to develop an appropriate research methodology (detailed in subsequent chapters).

Chapter 2 is divided into three sections. Section 2.1 introduces broader discourses on human development and the CA which frame conceptual foundations in the existing research. A brief distinction is made between Amartya Sen's and Martha Nussbaum's versions of the approach. The next section, 2.2, discusses education as capability, and education and education equality as a matter of social justice from a capabilities perspective. It justifies the rationale for choosing the CA to conceptualize education compared to other theoretical approaches and clarifies the use of key terms, such as education inequality, in the study's context. Finally, Section 2.3 discusses the relevance of capabilities to the Pakistani educational context and describes how the inherent incompleteness within the approach is appropriately combined with other sources of information to meet the current study's research objectives.

2.1 Human Development and the Capability Approach

While the philosophical foundations of human development can be traced back to Aristotelian thought and a lineage of influential thinkers, such as Adam Smith, Karl Marx and John Stuart Mill, the concept gained renewed emphasis and firmer conceptual and qualitative focus during the 1980s and 1990s. In the era following the Second World War, marked by the First UN Development Decade (i.e. the 1950s and 1960s), industrial growth strategies

[20] The distinction between the two versions – Capability and Capabilities – is explained later in the chapter.

assumed that – with some lag – sufficient increases in output would ultimately result in shared 'trickle-down' benefits for all. The late 1960s and early 1970s, however, made it increasingly evident that unprecedented growth in the developed world was providing little relief for a vast majority of the poor, and did not necessarily alleviate poverty, inequality and unemployment. This led to a reassessment of growth and a shift in focus towards more human-centred approaches in development, such as the basic needs approach, in 1977. The basic-needs concept carried universal applicability, emphasizing the satisfaction of a basic level of human needs including private consumption, for example, adequate food, shelter, clothing etc., and services, such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transport, and health and educational facilities etc. (ILO, 1977). The objective of a basic-needs approach was to provide opportunities for the full development of the individual (Streeten, 1979; Stewart, 1985), partly laying the foundation for a human development perspective in later years.

In the book *First Things First*, Streeten (1981, p. 21) describes the basic needs concept as a "reminder that the objective of the development effort is to provide all human beings with the opportunity for a full life". What partly aided the evolution of a broader concept of human development following basic-needs, then, was the fact that most contributing scholars concerned with the basic-needs approach – e.g. Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Mahbub ul Haq, Richard Jolly, Gustav Ranis and Frances Stewart – were also discussants in the series of UNDP RoundTables on development, beginning in 1983 (Hirai, 2011). In fact, Hirai (2011) argues that the basic-needs approach has more in common with the human-development approach than is generally recognized. However, there are at least two important distinctions between the basic-needs and the human-development approaches. Firstly, the latter extends beyond the concept of 'needs' to focus on improvement in human conditions as an end in itself. And secondly, as explained below, inherent to the idea of human development is also human agency or individuals' ability to act on behalf of goals that matter to them (Sen, 1985a). This includes placing people at the centre-stage of development, and evaluating each development activity by measure of how much people are able to participate in and benefit from it. Thus, human development, which was narrowly viewed as an improvement in human resource during the 1970s, came to be defined as an enlargement of people's choices during the 1980s and 1990s. In addition to basic needs, the intellectual antecedents of human development may be traced to Amartya Sen's concept of capabilities advanced during the 1980s (Ranis and Stewart, 2005), the former becoming formally institutionalized with the launch of the Human Development Reports in 1990.

By reiterating Smith's notion of people being the real wealth of nations, the (first) 1990 Human Development Report brought people back to the heart of development. Pioneered by Mahbub ul Haq and borrowing philosophical foundations from Amartya Sen's Capability Approach, the Report presented human development as a simple but powerful idea, namely, that people are irreducible to a single economic dimension as there are multiple aspects to their well-being, and that the purpose of development is to enlarge people's choices to acquire it. Contrary to conventional GDP/GNP approaches or measures of economic growth, human development provided an alternative by focusing on people's potential to live their lives in accordance with their reasons and needs. It made reference to the process of widening human capabilities, such as improving health or knowledge, as well as people's achieved levels of well-being or the use they make of their acquired capabilities (UNDP, 1990). Compared to other approaches, human development was credited with bridging the gap between production and distribution of commodities and expansion of capabilities, whilst additionally focusing on people's choices. Moreover, it achieved this for developed and developing nations alike as it attempted to answer the question of why people's quality of life in some richer countries fared worse than that in poorer ones. In other words, the approach captured the complexity of human life and suggested attention be paid to differences in people and their lives across the world. While the construct of appropriate measures and indicators to capture this complexity remains a challenge for human development, the Report suggested a composite Human Development Index to emphasize three basic aspects of human life: health, knowledge and standard of living. Two decades after the launch of the first report, the 2010 Human Development Report displayed significant progress to this end with the addition of the inequality-adjusted HDI, gender inequality and multidimensional poverty indices. In a sense, it traced the drift in development thought towards complex issues like poverty, inequality and injustice and emphasized the centrality of these in the human development framework. The Report argued that putting people at the centre of development was more than an intellectual exercise – it meant ensuring that progress was equitable and broad-based, combating processes that impoverished people or underpinned oppressions and structural injustice, enabling people to be active participants of change and ensuring that current achievements are not attained at the expense of future generations (UNDP, 2010). While there was revised reaffirmation of the need to expand people's choices to advance the goals they valued, there was also the emergence of new plural themes in human development,

like equity, structural disparity and sustainability[21]. The human development paradigm, therefore, may be viewed as a 'practical reflection of life, embracing every development issue including economic growth, social investment, people's empowerment, provision of basic needs and social safety nets, political and cultural freedoms, and all other aspects of people's lives' (Ul Haq, 1995b, p.33).

2.1.1 The Capability Approach

Providing the philosophical and intellectual base for human development, Amartya Sen's Capability Approach traces its conceptual foundations to the critique of traditional welfare economics typically conceptualizing well-being as utility or opulence. Sen's (1985a) main contention was that formal economics remained uninterested in the plurality of focus with which a person's states and interests may be judged, whereas when assessing any moral system, it was imperative to examine both what information it regarded appropriate and what information it filtered out as irrelevant and unusable. In his famous paper titled *Equality of What?*, Sen (1979) demonstrated the limitations of conceptualizing equality under utilitarian, total utility and Rawlsian frameworks as they embodied advantage as either possession of goods or satisfaction of a mental state rather than *the relation between goods and people*, that is, what goods actually enabled people to be and do. The myopic view of well-being as utility, for instance, ignored several other aspects of an individual's well-being. Similarly, any index of opulence or primary goods for individuals ignored the command they had over their characteristics, that is, what they were actually able to be and do with them. In critiquing conventional approaches, then, he proposed an alternative interpretation of human well-being in terms of capabilities and functionings (Sen, 1985a). Functionings or achieved states of individuals differ from mere possession of goods or opulence as they take into account interpersonal variability in determining the relation between people's possessions and what they achieve with them. In other words, they are a function of the capability or freedom that individuals have to achieve well-being, to 'do this or be that' (Sen, 1985a). Capabilities are simply the range of lives an individual may choose from. By highlighting these categories of additional information, Sen's Capability Approach leads us to look at the set of life options a person has and the actual things the person does and achieves – not just the state of satisfaction affiliated to income (Gasper, 2004). Sen's Capability Approach, then, defines the

[21] In *Reflections on Human Development*, Mahbub ul Haq (1995a) termed such themes - equity, sustainability, productivity and empowerment – essential components of human development as the lack of these potentially restricts people's choices or their ability to exercise choices of their own free will. However, it may be noted here that a full historical account of the evolution of (such themes in) the human development paradigm is beyond the scope and objective of this chapter.

goal of human development as capability expansion so that people may achieve valued doings and beings. The emphasis on valuation is important for two reasons: one, it recognizes that the focus of any political debate ought to be the achievements individuals and communities consider meaningful to possess and pursue; two, it acknowledges the natural heterogeneity of human beings, that they differ in the achievements they consider central and the positive freedoms they possess to achieve them. As stated earlier, a primary concept in the Approach is that of *human agency or autonomy*, that is, people's ability to act on behalf of goals that matter to them. In this sense, the Approach also pays heed to capability failures among marginalized or discriminated groups and deals with entrenched social injustice. Put differently, the Capability Approach broadens the informational space needed to evaluate human advantage by additionally picking on aspects of human development previously ignored or unused by other approaches. Its merit is that it considers the reality of people's lives and the real opportunities they possess to choose and act.

The importance of the capability metric in quality of life assessments cannot be ignored or denied. However, the extent to which it can possibly be materialized in the form of pragmatic policy is often the pre-occupation of sceptics. Critics, such as Sugden (1993) and Ysander (1993), have argued that the Approach lacks practical significance since it provides no definite guidance on issues of measurement and operationalization or on balancing the many relevant capabilities and functionings people value at the same time. While sometimes inviting criticism concerning under-specificity in identification, Sen (2005, p.157) does not subscribe to a particular list of capabilities arguing that their selection for any practical purpose requires a context-specific valuing, ranking and weighing exercise as well as public reason:

> *My own reluctance to join the search for such a canonical list arises partly from my difficulty in seeing how the exact lists and weights would be chosen without appropriate specification of the context of their use (which could vary), but also from a disinclination to accept any substantive diminution of the domain of public reasoning.*

In other words, listing capabilities runs the risk of over-specificity and also ignores the positive value in the inherent incompleteness of the approach, which allows it to remain "consistent and combinable with several different substantive theories" (Alkire, 2002, p. 29).

Comim (2008) explains that this flexibility and degree of internal pluralism is a celebrated strength of the approach rather than a flaw, reflecting its *bottom-up* nature that requires participation and involvement of those people who are the agents of development change. Thus several authors have generated lists of human capabilities to apply Sen's Approach, the methodologies of which have 'varied in style and sophistication and ranged from ad hoc selection of capabilities by experts to more complex rules and procedures for identifying capabilities as well as participatory approaches that listen to the voices of the poor' (Clark, 2005). Among the most influential of these is Martha Nussbaum, whose extension of the approach theorizes about social justice.

The basic tenets of Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach are the same: regarding individuals as ends in themselves, considering their real choices and opportunities in life, addressing entrenched social injustice and inequality, and ascribing an urgent task to public policy to improve the quality of life for all people as defined by their capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011). However, the point of departure between Sen and Nussbaum is the purpose served by their respective versions of the approach. Sen's advancement of capability emphasizes the need for broader informational spaces in quality of life assessments but does not provide a definite account of basic justice. And while he sometimes mentions certain basic capabilities in relation to issues of justice, the relevance of capabilities in his Approach is determined by context-specificity, public reason and democratic deliberation. Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach, on the other hand, embodies a universal normative character by adopting capabilities to theorize about social justice. Her account is normative in defining elements of a good life as it responds to the question: "Among the many things human beings might develop the capacity to do, which ones are the really valuable ones, which are the ones that a minimally just society will endeavor to nurture and support?" (Nussbaum, 2011, p.28). Her list of ten Central Capabilities, therefore, introduces the concept of a minimum threshold imperative to a dignified human life. Strictly speaking, in this sense, Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach is narrower than Sen's Capability Approach in being one of the many possible purposeful applications and exercises of the latter. As Sen (2005, p.158) describes:

> *There is often good sense in narrowing the coverage of capabilities for a specific purpose. Jean Dre`ze and I have tried to invoke such lists of elementary capabilities in dealing with 'hunger and public action', and in a different context, in dealing with India's economic and social achievements and failures (Dre`ze and Sen, 1989, 2002).*

> *I see Martha Nussbaum's powerful use of a given list of capabilities for some minimal rights against deprivation as being extremely useful, in the same practical way. For another practical purpose, we may need quite a different list.*

At the same time, Nussbaum's agenda of employing the Capabilities Approach to arrive at a universal normative account of what embodies a good human life extends beyond Sen's advancement of the comparative use of capabilities. She (1998, p.176) states:

> *[It] seems to me … that Sen needs to be more radical than he has been so far in his criticism of utilitarian accounts of well-being, by introducing an objective normative account of human functioning and by describing a procedure of objective evaluation by which functionings can be assessed for their contribution to the good human life.*

It is important to consider here that the two approaches may be less divergent than they appear to be as Nussbaum's proposed list respects the importance of democratic deliberation in the area of implementation and concrete specification of capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011, p.74). As argued by Comim (2008, p.167), this idea of *multiple realizability* (Nussbaum, 2000, p.77) is often ignored when considering Nussbaum's list of central capabilities:

> *This suggests that the measurement of central human capabilities should follow a two-step procedure: first, with the definition of a list of universal human capabilities a group of central capabilities could be set. Second, with the principle of multiple realizability these central capabilities could be further specified according to the particular historical contexts of the societies or individuals investigated.*

Thus, while Sen's and Nussbaum's versions of the CA are different, it is possible that the underlying emphasis on context-specificity and democratic deliberation in the former may, to a certain extent, be diffused by multiple realizability in the latter when considering the relevance of certain capabilities to a good human life. In the current study's research context, it is natural to ask whether and to what extent education features in both Sen's and Nussbaum's versions of the CA, and how the relevance of certain educational capabilities may be established for evaluative exercises, if at all. These questions are addressed by the following sections.

2.2 Education and Capabilities

2.2.1 Education as Capability

The capability to be educated enjoys special relevance in both Sen's and Nussbaum's advancement of the Approach. Sen's development agenda includes expansion of people's substantive freedoms and removal of unfreedoms limiting choice or agency. Biggeri and Santi (2012) describe how, consistent with this position, Sen highlights two roles for education: an instrumental process role, which fosters human capabilities at the household, community or national level; and an empowering and distributive role enabling marginalized people to access centres of power and make a case for redistribution (Biggeri and Santi, 2012). On one hand, education – an instrumental freedom in its own right - is relevant to the promotion of other instrumental freedoms, such as health (social opportunities), political freedoms (participation in public debates) etc., that enhance the general capability of a person (Sen, 1999a). Contrasted with human-capital theories, Sen's broader human-capability perspective appreciates other roles of education beyond human productivity, such as expanding people's freedoms by allowing them to read, communicate, articulate, argue, be independent, make informed decisions etc. Providing evidence on female literacy and fertility, he describes how education also furthers women's social standing, independence and freedom to exercise agency in family decisions (Sen, 1999a; Guardian, 2003). On the other hand, Sen considers lack of educational access and inclusion as basic capability failure and consequently, a source of deprivation. His mention of disparities and gaps in education access, inclusion and achievement therefore expands into complex issues of poverty, deprivation, human security and social justice (Guardian, 2003):

> *…widening the coverage and effectiveness of basic education can have a powerfully preventive role in reducing human insecurity of nearly every kind…The most basic issue relates to the elementary fact that illiteracy and innumeracy are forms of insecurity themselves. Not to be able to read or write or count or communicate is a tremendous deprivation…when people are illiterate, their ability to understand and invoke their legal rights can be very limited, and educational neglect can also lead to other kinds of deprivation.*

However, more often than not, his references remain generically confined to numeracy and

literacy and while the presence of complex factors, such as nature of school curricula, identity formation in schools etc., in education is acknowledged (Guardian, 2003), these do not become his subject of detailed enquiry. Contrastingly, Nussbaum provides a much fuller and richer account by exploring at least three avenues relevant to education: i) her core concept of human dignity and list of central capabilities[22] ii) democratic citizenship, and iii) issues of pedagogy and curricular content in higher education.

The centrality of education in a dignified life can be traced to several philosophical traditions the Capabilities Approach associates with and borrows from. In *Cultivating Humanity*, Nussbaum (1998, p.28) highlights how Socrates depicted 'the examined life' as a central educational goal for democracy, while the unexamined life was simply not worth living. Similarly, a central educational goal for the Stoics was to help individuals break free from passivity by inculcating critical thinking and inquiry in them, thus not only developing their intellectual strength and freedom, but also modifying their motives and desires and simply the way they viewed their own lives. Emphasis on education, particularly of the young, is also found in Aristotelian thought, describing educational neglect as an impediment to meaningful choice and political life (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum (2011, p.136) also refers to Adam Smith when linking education with her core tenet of human dignity: where he describes an uneducated person as "as much mutilated and deformed in his mind, as another in his body, who is either deprived of some of its most essential members, or has lost the use of them".

One of the most powerful features of education highlighted in the examples above is the strengthening of the reasoning faculties of individuals, thus directly contributing to *practical reason*, an architectonic capability in Nussbaum's list that pervades other capabilities. A quick glance at her Central Capabilities also shows how education may be relevant to many others. In addition to the more obvious capabilities of *practical reason* and *senses, imagination and thought*, for instance, education may improve *bodily health, bodily integrity* (e.g. through greater awareness and consequently security against sexual assault or domestic violence), *control over one's environment* (both political and material by enhancing people's opportunities), *affiliation* (e.g. by learning ways of social interaction and treating others with respect) and even o*ther species* (e.g. by learning to appreciate non-human forms of life and

[22] As indicated below, education reflects in Nussbaum's (2011) 'architectonic' capabilities of *practical reason* and *affiliation* which pervade other capabilities. In this sense, education may be said to be directly or indirectly relevant to her Central Capabilities in general.

environmental concerns). Education is thus a 'fertile functioning', playing a reproductive or regenerative role in enhancing other capabilities and achievements. In fact, Nussbaum (2011 p.152) categorizes it as a high-order fertile functioning when addressing disadvantage and inequality - those which may "justly take priority" over others when making tragic choices in allocating scarce resources – as "people who receive even a basic education have greatly enhanced employment options, chances for political participation, and abilities to interact productively with others in society at a local, national and global level".

Nussbaum's analysis deepens with her consideration of what education promises to flourishing democracies. From a philosophical standpoint, Nussbaum suggests that a kind of Socratic teaching that forces citizens to question, reason and debate is the true promise of democratic citizenship. From a literary perspective, her proposals are inspired by John Dewey and Rabindranath Tagore. She describes how from a very early age, children's learning environment determines whether "to ask questions or not; take things at face value or probe more deeply; imagine the situation of a person different from oneself or consider him a threat to the success of one's own projects; think of oneself as member of a homogeneous group or more broadly, as members of a world comprising people and groups all worthy of respect and understanding" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 387). Comim (2014) demonstrates how, as part of a broader agenda of building capabilities, such ideas by Nussbaum invite us to think differently about human-development policies concerning art and public spaces and put children at the centre-stage of development processes. Since education is what shapes people's thinking habits and worldviews from childhood, Nussbaum proposes at least three educational capabilities to free the mind: critical examination, global citizenship and narrative imagination. Critical examination allows individuals to reason logically, and engage in dialogue and debate with others in an atmosphere of mutual respect. Global citizenship or considering oneself not just part of a local region or group, but also the world at large ties individuals to all other human beings in recognition and concern, cultivating space for common problems to be resolved. Narrative imagination allows them to think beyond their own experiences, imagine what it is to be in other people's shoes and better understand their emotions, desires, needs and interests. Together, the three inter-related abilities support Nussbaum's view of education as freedom – "the freedom of a child's mind to engage critically with tradition; to imagine citizenship in both national and world terms, and to negotiate multiple allegiances with knowledge and confidence; and to reach out in the imagination, allowing another person's experience into oneself" (Nussbaum, 2006, p.392).

Nussbaum ascribes a special role to the humanities and arts in inculcating these Tagorean capacities, particularly narrative imagination. Several of her works, such as *Not for Profit* (2010), describe how various forms of art - theatre, dance, literature, music - are sourced in creativity, stimulating individuals and engaging with their senses, emotions and imaginations at a much deeper level than conventional forms of learning, such as sitting in a classroom or reading a textbook. Broadly, her discussion of education as freedom and pedagogical and curricular issues in learning are also remindful of children's role and importance in human development. It is worth mentioning that no matter what the objective may be – gender development, educational reform, social justice or constitutional principles and political liberalism – education remains a persistent theme in nearly all of her works.

It can be said that the intrinsic and instrumental roles of education are common to both Sen's and Nussbaum's accounts. Education is intrinsically important, a good in itself as "all other things being equal, an educated person able to access a range of different ways of thinking about issues and participate fully in the life of a society has a more fulfilling life than an uneducated person barred from it" (Unterhalter, 2003a, p.9). On the other hand, education is also instrumentally important in promoting economic and non-economic roles in an individual's personal and collective life. For example, economically, education benefits at a personal level by increasing employability or at a collective level by contributing to economic growth. In non-economic terms, education can be instrumental at a personal level in 'opening' an individual's mind and increasing access to information or collectively, in allowing educated individuals to be more receptive to one another, thus generating a more tolerant society and so on (Robeyns, 2006). However, a pertinent question that remains is whether all individuals and societies value certain intrinsic and instrumental roles of education in the same way or, put differently, whether there is a particular list of educational capabilities that may be employed for comparative assessments between individuals and societies. While the above discussion highlights how both Sen and Nussbaum often refer to educational capabilities ranging from literacy and numeracy (in the case of Sen) to critical thinking and imagination (in the case of Nussbaum), the task of listing educational capabilities at length has been undertaken by other proponents of the approach, such as Melanie Walker, Rosie Vaughan, Mario Biggeri, Veronica Crosbie, Lorella Terzi etc., who have contributed to a large and growing volume of literature on education and capabilities in the past decade (Unterhalter, 2013). While their analyses range from theoretical arguments to practical research experiences and project evaluations, work by these scholars can be placed

in at least one of the three categories defined by Unterhalter (2009). The first considers scholars who use the language of the approach, namely, capabilities, functionings and conversion factors to observe how educational resources do or do not contribute to capability development. These resources, for instance, address new ways of conceptualizing the 'value' of education in different contexts and the processes for evaluating it. Theoretical contributions in this category may try to understand the location of education capabilities, while empirical ones may involve identifying what learners or teachers consider valuable capabilities or functionings. The second category expands the notion of capability into ideas like human rights, social justice and inequality, with one line of inquiry focusing on the many ways in which schools reproduce inequality and the other discussing how schools can offer learners resources or conditions to challenge or reverse existing inequalities (Maguire et al., 2012). The final category uses the approach to understand data on children's or adults' views of learning, and the value of education and measurement. It may be useful to note here that the current study combines aspects of all three by i) defining educational capabilities and functionings from a theoretical and contextual standpoint; ii) appropriately situating education in a capabilities perspective to address education inequality; and iii) attempting to objectively measure and evaluate educational capabilities through various research methods. These aspects are necessitated by the nature of the current research enquiry, drawing attention to historical and contextual specificities and the use of a broader informational space like capabilities to measure educational inequality in the context of school diversity in Pakistan. The remaining part of this section explores how points i) and ii) above are achieved by discussing lists of educational capabilities identified in literature, and education and education equality from a capabilities perspective.

2.2.2 Lists of Educational Capabilities

A useful starting point in conceptualizing lists of educational capabilities is imagining the 'constitutive' role of education (as bread nourishes and a bicycle transports, education educates) versus its regenerative role in promoting other opportunities and achievements. Although blurred, the distinction between the two positions, that is, education as a functioning itself versus an enabler of other capabilities and functionings – or consequently, capabilities to participate in education (e.g. schooling) versus capabilities afforded by education – is theoretically advantageous (Vaughan, 2007). Regarding the constitutive role of education, Walker's (2004, p.2) proposal of a provisional list of 'core' educational

capabilities is useful because "if these capabilities were not being fostered in diverse cultural contexts, one may have difficulty in describing the process at work as education". Her list includes *practical reason (autonomy facilitation, empowerment), knowledge (imagination), affiliation (respect, recognition), emotional integrity* and *play*. The second, regenerative role of education includes capabilities which may not necessarily qualify as 'core' but are nonetheless important, for example, *the capability to aspire and hope* (Duflo, 2012), *cultural valuation and recognition, capability to be a friend* (Walker, 2004) and so on.

Walker's comment invites attention to at least two further areas: the *process at work* and the *diverse cultural contexts* in which educational capabilities flourish. The issue at hand is whether the positive and mutually enhancing link between education and expansion of capabilities is maintained by some a priori condition or whether education may sometimes encroach upon and restrict people's capability. If the process of education is defined as schooling, then clearly Unterhalter's evidence with respect to schooling experiences in parts of South Africa indicates the latter where attending school puts young female students at risk of sexual assault by teachers and HIV infection, potentially destroying their capability (Unterhalter, 2012). In fact, this is precisely why she highlights the distinction between education and schooling as school education does not necessarily translate into enlargement of freedom. For instance, female students in village schools in some states of India may learn subordination by being made to sit at the back of the classroom or because of the ways in which they are portrayed in textbooks. In this way, formal schooling is as much a case of capability deprivation as of human capability in development (Unterhalter, 2003b, p.8)[23]. McCowan (2009) also addresses the issue of hidden curricula by discussing curricular transposition in relation to the disjunctures between their creation, implementation by teachers and effects on students. Thus the meaning, purpose and process of education – education of what, for whom, by whom and how – remains laden with prejudices based on a society's social, cultural and political perspectives. The key point to remember, however, is that the Capability Approach supports a view of education that enhances people's agency and freedom rather than diminishing their lives.

[23] McCowan (2010) also rightly points to the limitation in equating the two as many schools around the world fail to provide an experience that can meaningfully be called education. However, the current study's research objectives do not allow a different view of education other than schooling. An acknowledgement of the distinction, nonetheless, indicates awareness of the limitations of adopting such a deliberate position. It may also be noted that for the sake of this study, the terms 'school types' and 'schooling types' are used interchangeably.

Regarding the issue of diverse cultural contexts, Walker (2004) identifies at least four sources for the traceability of educational capabilities: i) the core process of schooling; ii) scholarship and research; iii) regional or contextual factors relevant to the site of research; and iv) participants themselves[24]. The advantage of determining educational capabilities in such a way lies in sensitization to theory and scholarship as well as participants' own valuations and cultural contexts. Indeed, various theoretical and empirical inquiries concerning education and capabilities have resulted in various dimensions and categories of educational capabilities. Terzi's (2007, p.37) theoretical account of the potential contribution of the capability to be educated to the formation and expansion of human capabilities includes reference to a possible, but not complete or exhaustive, list of educational capabilities, including dimensions like *literacy, numeracy, sociality and participation, learning and dispositions, physical activities, science and technology* and *practical reason*. On the other hand, Alkire (2002) describes capabilities resulting from an impact assessment of a female literacy programme in Pakistan by actively engaging participants in the process. The richness of such an assessment lies in the additional information provided by participants about social and cultural contexts - for instance, in this case, females believed the programme empowered them with the capability to maintain better 'relationships', particularly with their husbands in teaching them to speak softly, discuss and not fight and so on. The theoretical and contextual foundations of educational capabilities, however, (or other capabilities for that matter) need not be viewed as necessarily dichotomous. Between the two lies a continuum of possibilities along which research studies may position themselves depending on the nature of enquiry. This is the perspective employed by the current research in combining the incompleteness of the Capability Approach with theoretical understandings and contextual insights about valued educational capabilities. Table 2.1 offers preliminary insights into the definitions of commonly identifiable educational capabilities in literature and the respective dimensions in which they are discussed by authors[25]. The rationale for the categorizations in Table 2.1 is to establish a theoretical understanding of the categories and dimensions of educational capabilities identified through research and scholarship to guide the research's empirical analysis. As subsequent chapters (3 & 4) indicate, the thesis builds on

Table 2.1 by arriving at a *contextualized* list of educational capabilities (Table 3.2) through

[24] The final section of this chapter demonstrates how the current study extends this source to include the role of families in determining valued educational capabilities.
[25] These are substantiated with details in Chapters 4 & 5.

Table 2.1 Educational Capabilities and their Dimensions Identified in Literature

Practical Reason	Being able to form a conception of the good.	Nussbaum (2011)
	Being able to engage in critical reflection of one's own life/actions and others' actions.	Maguire et al. (2012); Nussbaum (2011); Terzi (2007); Raynor (2007);
	Being able to have realistic opportunities to become an autonomous person (Autonomy and empowerment).	Brighouse (2000) Alkire (2002)
	Being able to have choices, having information on which to base choices, planning a life after school, independence, empowerment (Choice and preference formation).	Walker (2007) Raynor (2007)
	Being able to aspire.	Walker (2004; 2007)
	Being able to relate means and ends.	Terzi (2007)
Knowledge	Being able to acquire, use and produce knowledge, skills.	Walker (2004: 2007); Robeyns (2002); Vaughan (2007); Alkire (2002)
	Literacy: Being able to read and to write, to use language, and discursive reasoning functionings. Numeracy: Being able to count, to measure, to solve mathematical questions, and to use logical reasoning functionings. Science and Technology: Being able to understand natural phenomenon, being knowledgeable about technology, and being able to use technological tools.	Terzi (2007);
Senses, Imagination and Thought	Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think and reason- and to do these things in a 'truly human' way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing events of one's own choice.	Nussbaum (2011); Walker (2004)
Learning Disposition	Being able to concentrate, to pursue interests, to accomplish tasks, to enquire.	Terzi (2007)
	Being able to have curiosity and a desire for	Maguire et al.

	learning, having confidence in one's ability to learn, being an active inquirer.	(2012)
Emotions	Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety. Developing emotions and imagination for understanding empathy, awareness and discernment.	Nussbaum (2013; 2011; 2010; 2000); Walker (2004; 2007)
Bodily Integrity and Safety	Being secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence. Not being subject to any form of harassment at school by teachers or peers.	Nussbaum (2011); Biggeri (2007) Walker (2007) Unterhalter (2003a)
Affiliation (Respect)	Having the social basis of respect and non-humiliation. Being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. Self-confidence and self-esteem Showing imaginative empathy, compassion, fairness, and generosity. Listening to and considering other persons' points of view in dialogue and debate. Being able to act inclusively (Respect, dignity and recognition).	Nussbaum (2011); Walker (2007) Maguire et al. (2012)
Affiliation (Social Relations)	Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction, to be able to imagine the situation of another. Being able to establish positive relationships with others, and to participate in social activities without shame. Capability to be a friend, to participate in a group for friendship or learning, being able to respond to human need, social belonging (Social relations and social networks).	Nussbaum (2011); Biggeri (2007) Terzi (2007); Raynor (2007); Alkire (2002) Walker (2004, 2007) Maguire et al. (2012)
Play	Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational/ leisure activities. Being able to exercise.	Nussbaum (2011); Biggeri (2007) Terzi (2007)

field discussions with school-going children and their parents. As discussed earlier, a contextualized understanding of capabilities is needed to see how different determinants of inequality such as gender, rurality, socio-economic background etc. interact in the schooling context to reproduce educational disadvantage (Tikly and Barrett, 2009). The final list incorporating both theoretical and contextual insights about valued educational capabilities in Pakistan (Table 3.2) then informed the research study's quantitative tools and analysis.

Listed in no particular order, Table 2.1 highlights a range of educational capabilities. An obvious objective of education appears to be transmission or acquisition of *knowledge* and skills ranging from basic literacy and numeracy to more sophisticated or specialized information such as science and technology[26]. However, the conscious and consequent use and production of knowledge also links with *senses, imagination and* thought, that is, students' 'ability to think and reason and use thought and imagination in connection with experiencing and producing events of their own choice' (Nussbaum, 2011). Moreover, 'understanding learning to be a good that benefits learners and enables them to flourish' (Walker, 2004), one may argue that a positive *learning disposition* is also an educational capability in itself, arousing curiosity and desire in learners, encouraging them to be active inquirers and motivating them to pursue their interests and accomplish tasks.

Nussbaum's architectonic capabilities - *practical reason* and *affiliation* – are also underscored in education. Practical reason in education enables people to develop judgment and take charge of their own lives including the capability to aspire, to form independent choices and preferences and critically evaluate and plan one's actions and life, such as evaluating one's career choices. As Alkire (2002) and Brighouse (2000) have argued, practical reason may be viewed as a realistic opportunity to become autonomous and empower oneself. While, on one hand, practical reason and autonomy develop an individual's capability to take responsibility for his or her own life and the consequences on and for others, affiliation develops his or her capability to show consideration to others, understand them and participate in the human condition (Walker, 2004). Affiliation, however, comprises not only social belonging and participation such as the ability to form positive relationships and participate in groups for friendship or learning, but also the capability to have the social bases of respect and non-humiliation. Respect here also includes 'recognition' at par with

[26] More is said about skills and capabilities, particularly cognitive and non-cognitive skills as described by James Heckman, in the final section of this chapter.

others, eventually playing a part in shaping an individual's learning identity, self-confidence, self-esteem and self-respect and preserving dignity. Affiliation overall – both as social relation and respect – includes a concern for other human beings, a kind of imaginative empathy and compassion, enabling them to live with and toward others. When learning environments lack such a concern, one may argue that educational processes affect learners' emotional integrity, for example, when too often feelings of anxiety or fear such as that of punishment by teachers or ridicule by peers interfere with an individual's learning process and identity. *Bodily integrity and safety*, then, may be considered as an educational capability itself comprising freedom from any act of violence – verbal, physical and/or sexual – as well as safety and security. Lastly, the capability to *play*, that is, laugh, enjoy recreational activities and participate in sports and leisure, is also key, particularly for young children. It may be noted that the categories of educational capabilities described here are not exclusive, rather they are interdependent in some ways. For instance, a child's lack of bodily integrity when harassed and bullied by fellow students consequently affects his/her affiliation in class. Similarly, lack of knowledge can directly impair an individual's ability to critically evaluate his/her circumstances and make informed life choices (practical reason).

2.2.3 Education and Education Equality from a Capabilities Perspective

This section highlights the value-added of the CA in conceptualizing education compared to other theoretical approaches. Firstly, a capabilities perspective fully appreciates the intrinsic and instrumental roles of education and guides education policy towards the expansion of people's capabilities. Sen (1999a) describes how a human-capabilities perspective notes and values additional roles of education – reading, communicating, arguing, being able to choose in a more informed way, being taken seriously by others and so on – beyond mere enhancement of human capital. In Sen's words (1999a, p.293), "the yardstick of assessment concentrates on different achievements", between the human-capital and human-capabilities focus. In her account of the three models of education, Robeyns (2006, p.79) also explains how capabilities provide a scope as wide as "human life and societal arrangements stretch in reality'" unlike other restricted normative approaches. She argues that the human-capital approach is economistic and instrumentalistic in focusing on productivity benefits and blocking the non-material dimension of life, whereas the human-rights approach runs the risk of being rhetorical and focusing solely on the provision of education but not beyond (e.g. the capability to participate in education etc.). Trani et al. (2012) also reaffirm that capabilities

extend beyond the human-rights framework which entitles all children to education but fails to make that right operational. It is important to note, however, that these critiques are based on the ineffective actualization of rights in practice, and not faults inherent in the concept of 'human right' – the fact that rights indicate the status and urgency of a moral claim make them important in their own right (McCowan, 2011). Where capabilities add value is enrichment of the rights-based framework in providing a more comprehensive view of the content of rights and the conditions necessary for people to exercise their rights (McCowan, 2011). Like other aspects of development, then, the advantage of applying Sen's Capability Approach to education and education inequality lies in a broadened informational space for evaluating individuals' well-being.

Secondly, the CA offers a useful alternative to standard economic frameworks for thinking about issues like disadvantage, inequality and social justice. To begin with, it may be argued that many approaches or frameworks, such as school effectiveness or Education for All, only include narrowly defined aspects of education, for example, enrolment, completed years of schooling etc. without addressing real-life complexities of students' schooling experiences. While some of these may correspond to functionings or well-being achievements in the capability framework, the latter delves deeper into the range and quality of alternatives individuals have in their capability sets to achieve valued functionings. It reveals information about people's choices and motivations behind their choices. Thus, while an effectiveness approach does not differentiate between two students at school A with identical academic achievements, for example, four years of formal schooling, a capability perspective argues the two may have had very different capability sets to choose from in the first place and may differ substantially in their ability to convert their achievements into other opportunities in future. For instance, it may be that in choosing to attend school A, one student had fewer or no options to study elsewhere or that all other options in his or her capability set were inferior to the preferred option, for example, all other schools fared worse in terms of quality than school A. Moreover, capabilities also differentiate between opportunity and choice – being able to choose to attend school does not automatically imply the opportunity to acquire some or all of the desired properties of education nor does it reveal what students are able to achieve with it (Kelly, 2012). Similarly, it is possible to have opportunity but not achieve, for example, a student may not choose the best school in town due for social or personal reasons, despite having the opportunity to do so. Additionally, the CA also considers the choices and

opportunities individuals actively create for themselves in the process of obtaining education, emphasizing individuals' *agency* in achievement.

A related point concerns the consequent inadequacy or inappropriateness of indicators in existing approaches to measure education effectiveness. The Capability Approach is set apart from such approaches or frameworks in addressing human well-being as a multi-dimensional concept, encouraging researchers to step out from a neat and linear view of development and break free from narrowly defined views of inequality. In arguing that the CA is at least as good as the rival 'education for all' approach, for instance, Unterhalter and Brighouse (2007, p.68) describe how enrolment ratios or gender gaps expressed in terms of completion often provide a limited view of prevalent gender inequality, whereas a capability perspective appropriately addresses wider meanings of gender inequality by giving weight to processes within schools or resulting from schooling that cause it. In short, the CA highlights the importance of processes as well as contexts in obtaining and interpreting data, and encourages multidimensionality in the conceptualization and measurement of complex issues like poverty, inequality and social injustice.

Finally, the advantage of adopting a capabilities perspective is not only limited to viewing education and education inequality in a different light but also in considering what lies beyond. From a capabilities perspective, it has already been argued that the mere provision or expansion of educational opportunities is not enough as it may not always automatically translate into expansion of capabilities[27]. Not all children participate or benefit from education in the same way, nor are they able to convert the resources afforded by education to generate similar advantages in life (Hart, 2012, p.276). On one hand, such an argument forces us to identify a range of choice and non-choice factors that disadvantage certain individuals or groups and to acknowledge that education contributes to capabilities but only under certain conditions. A child branded stupid by teachers or peers can achieve little at school if his or her hopes and aspirations are blighted by what others think of him. A girl brought up in a discriminatory environment which restricts the privilege of education to males only can attach little or no value to education, having adapted to the realities around her. On the other hand, a capabilities perspective simultaneously triggers thought along a range of institutional and pedagogical tangents that can discriminate positively in favour of

[27] This is why it is easy to see how a capabilities perspective surpasses rival human-capital and human-rights approaches when considering education inequality as a matter of social justice.

disadvantaged groups or individuals. It acknowledges that the factors that condition the acquisition and use of knowledge are, in fact, multi-rooted and diverse, and offers a set of conceptual tools for reflecting on ways of reducing the present injustices in our education system and better guiding the just delivery of public services (Hart, 2012, p.278). But the real beauty of a capabilities perspective unfolds in additionally arguing for a commensurate enhancement of *other instrumental freedoms and functionings* that can enable people to achieve (Kelly, 2012). Its multidimensional nature makes such other opportunities and achievements hard to ignore. Capabilities ask, 'What use is choice if people aren't able to benefit from choices?', thus arguing for social, political and economic redress and distribution. The broader agenda of expansion of people's capabilities forces us to look beyond issues like academic instruction: at contexts, at social, economic and cultural circumstances that condition educational endeavours (Flores-Crespo, 2007).

If capabilities provide the appropriate lens to view educational issues, what does the image of education equality look like within the approach? In other words, if the capability to be educated matters for social justice and is a basic or fundamental one, how do nations ensure equality of this very basic capability? Firstly, it is clear from the arguments above that social justice may often require more than mere equality of capabilities – and just educational capabilities – for disadvantaged groups. Secondly, even when considering equality alone, there is absence of a single consensual theoretical framework for conceptualizing equality in education. On issues of gender and education equality, for instance, Vaughan (2007) demonstrates how feminist campaigns remain divided as to whether education equality entails equality of *access*, equality of *achievement* and *opportunity*, equality of *treatment*, or equality of *outcomes* and gender equity in society. Similarly, Hedge and MacKenzie (2012, p.336) discuss how equality of education is not so much about educational outcomes as it is about ensuring that "all are equally placed in the education process, and equally supported". In part, the fuzzy picture of education equality painted by the Approach remains consistent with its original position on broader evaluative spaces for well-being[28]. Thus, while there is no magic solution or definitive checklist of educational capabilities to ensure equality, there are definitely broader informational spaces to conceptualize dimensions in which less injustice or less inequality is deemed necessary to serve the requirements of social justice.

[28] Nussbaum's (2011, p.40-41) Capabilities Approach also does not answer distributional questions beyond a minimum acceptable threshold. For her, the extent to which adequacy of capability also requires equality of capability calls for detailed thought about each capability, asking what respect for human dignity requires.

Moreover, contextual relevance – a celebrated feature of the Approach – underscores the idea that the way participants talk about capabilities across different contexts can reveal crucial information about their capacity to articulate capabilities, issues of adaptive preference and endogenous sources of deprivation (Unterhalter, 2012). It ensures that plurality is characterized in applications of the approach by the extent to which human diversity influences or guides it.

The above argument, however, begs the question: What is the conceptualization of education inequality in the context of this research? Or, in other words, what is the informational space and the metric adopted to measure and compare education inequality in Pakistan's given educational landscape? As argued above, the relevant informational space for the current research is provided by educational capabilities and the metric adopted for their comparison is the notion of pure equality as reflected in the broader UN agenda[29]. Thus, strictly speaking, education inequality in the given context equals inequality of educational capabilities for school-going children under different schooling types. This is reflected in the primary research question addressed by this thesis, namely, how do children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schooling in Pakistan? The categories of educational capabilities (and capability dimensions) in which such education inequality manifests itself are found after combining theoretical insights with contextual specification provided by children and parent participants (see Table 3.2). It is also useful to recall here that, at a broader level, this thesis investigates the relationship between historically institutionalized school diversity and education inequality, that is, how participation *in* a particular form of education or schooling correlates with the capabilities gained *through* education. Broadly speaking, therefore, education inequality in the context of this research also concerns other inequalities to the extent that they mediate potential differences in children's educational capabilities across schooling types. This is appropriately reflected in the study's second research question, namely, how are potential differences in children's educational capabilities across different types of schooling mediated by certain individual, family and household characteristics? As described above, such a broad conception of education inequality is also consistent with the theoretical position within the CA that argues for a commensurate enhancement of other instrumental freedoms and functionings that can enable people to

[29] For instance, gender equality is defined by the UN as equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for men and women (UNWomen, 2018). This does not mean that men and women will become the same, rather, equality in this sense implies equality of rights, responsibilities and opportunities between individuals and considering the needs, interests and priorities of all, irrespective of accidents of birth such as gender, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status etc.

achieve when considering educational disadvantage and injustices.

The CA literature reviewed thus far aids the conceptualization of an evaluative exercise in education by establishing the relevance of a capabilities perspective to educational issues, defining some educational capabilities and encouraging further specification through the notion of multiple realizability. Additionally, in discussing various manifestations, it commonly identifies education equality as lesser inequality or injustice in broader educational informational spaces. But how can such an exercise be conceptualized in the educational context of Pakistan and how may further specification of educational capabilities in such a context be achieved? The final section explores these questions by combining existing features of the approach as well as building on prior work on educational capabilities.

2.3 Capabilities and Education Equality in Pakistan

In analysing the current study's primary research question, namely, How do children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schools in Pakistan?, relevant contributions of the CA can be acknowledged in at least three domains: i) highlighting the role of children in human development; ii) identifying multiple dimensions in which educational inequalities may be assessed; and iii) displaying sensitivity to diverse educational research contexts, including different types of schools. In *Reflections on Human Development*, Ul Haq (1995a) emphasized the vital role of people in development planning and the need to consider them principal objects and subjects rather than residuals of development. Children are also human beings, and the relevance of development to issues of childhood, poverty and path dependency proposes that children be placed at the centre of the development studies agenda and be viewed as active agents in the process of developing their capabilities and well-being (Biggeri, Ballet and Comim, 2011). From a capabilities perspective, this offers new research avenues to investigate how synergies between the approach and children themselves may result in strategies to improve the lives of millions of children around the world. It also casts new light on the need for public policies that address children's issues. In fact, the current characterization exploring institutional aspects, such as school diversity in relation to children's educational capabilities and education inequality, uniquely opens one such research window in Pakistan. Moreover, application to evaluate children's issues can encourage a rethinking of the Capability Approach itself, dealing with

the challenges of considering children as active actors, agents and subjects (Biggeri, Ballet and Comim, 2011). For the current study, such a capabilities perspective is inspired by the history of primary education neglect disadvantaging young children, as well as the missing link between children and broader development discourse in a southern country context like Pakistan.

The second aspect concerning multidimensionality in assessment of education inequalities partly relates to the experiences of being a child and childhood itself. The issue at hand is that children differ in their ability to attend and participate in a particular type of school *in addition to* differences in other lived realities, for example, being a boy or girl, being rich or poor etc. A capabilities perspective in educational assessments, then, better addresses disadvantage by stepping outside a linear definition of inequality and considering the real freedom or opportunity children have to do and be things. Finally, by emphasizing processes, a capabilities perspective underlines not only the importance of differences across different types of schools, but also the actions of schools that result in such differences. In other words, by distinguishing between institutions and actions of institutions, capabilities can explain why two children with the same level of educational achievement and studying at similar types of schools may have had very different choices and opportunities to arrive at the same.

It is evident, however, that an assessment of educational capabilities in the current study's context requires a greater level of theoretical and contextual specification. This is achieved by building on the above discussion in the following ways; i) combining the role of families with the role of children in their development; ii) extending provisional lists of educational capabilities to include cognitive and non-cognitive as well as contextually relevant capabilities; and iii) utilizing the concept of internal and combined capabilities to address diverse research and schooling contexts. What is the role of families in shaping educational capabilities? While this question is dealt with in detail in later chapters, it may suffice to say here that family contexts influence both the capabilities to participate in education and the capabilities gained from education in numerous ways, for example, through the resources available, the quality and quantity of parent-child or intra-household interactions, family lifestyle etc. (Ikesako and Miyamoto, 2015). More specifically, Biggeri (2007) highlights at least two issues related to children's capabilities that directly involve the role of parents or families; firstly, children's capabilities are at least partially affected by the capability set and achieved functionings of their parents as an outcome of a cumulative path-dependent process

involving different generations of humans beings, and, secondly, the possibility of children converting capabilities into functionings also depends on parental decisions as the latter may sometimes conflict with children's expectations and aspirations. Given a social-cultural context comprising greater dependence between children and parents as well as large/joint family systems, the effects of some of these factors may potentially be more pronounced in Pakistan's educational landscape.

The role of children and families links with the broader discussion on specification of educational capabilities for comparative assessment partly addressed in the definitional list of capabilities in Table 2.1. It is generally accepted in the capabilities literature that any list of capabilities meant for any purpose or exercise is, at best, provisional, be it Nussbaum's (2011) top-down approach in proposing a list of central capabilities for social justice or Walker's (2004; 2007) bottom-up approach in constructing a list of educational capabilities. As stated earlier, lists remain open to contextualization or multiple realizability where they can be further specified according to the particular historical contexts of the societies or individuals investigated. This is one respect in which the current study builds on existing literature on educational capabilities; it contextualizes provisional or theoretically determined educational capabilities by combining them with participants' voices, that is, educational capabilities valued by both children and their parents in Pakistan. The second respect relates to the distinction between cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities. In *Creating Capabilities*, Nussbaum (2011) dedicates an appendix to the economist James Heckman's empirical work on early childhood and its potential synergy with the Human Development Approach. Heckman considers capabilities skills or potentials for achievement, demonstrating how they are decisively shaped at a very early age by a range of environmental influences, from prenatal to later development throughout the life course. Two key concepts influence the future acquisition of skills: i) self-productivity, that is, skills acquired in one period persist into future periods or are self-reinforcing; and ii) complementarity i.e. skills produced at one stage raise the productivity of investment at future stages through direct and cross effects (Heckman and Kautz, 2012). Additionally, there is distinction between children's cognitive and non-cognitive skills as well as identification of critical or sensitive periods for skill formation in the life cycle of child development. While cognition often is associated with fluid or crystallized intelligence, non-cognitive skills are used to describe personal attributes not thought to be measured by IQ tests or achievement. They are more commonly identified as soft skills, personality traits, non-cognitive abilities, character skills and socio-emotional

skills (Kautz et al., 2014), for example, perseverance, motivation, self-control and other aspects of conscientiousness (Rosen et al., 2010). Heckman's studies demonstrate that sensitive periods for the acquisition of cognitive skills occur earlier than for non-cognitive skills (Cunha and Heckman, 2007), implying that non-cognitive skills are more malleable later in life. Such analyses can have a crucial bearing on various childhood or adulthood interventions and programmes. In the case of education, viewing it as a process of *both* cognitive and non-cognitive development beyond its traditional role of enhancing cognition and labour productivity in the first instance can drastically alter the meaning, purpose and delivery of education. Secondly, the acknowledgement that cognitive and non-cognitive skills foster each other, for example, that children's perception of their ability, expectations of future success, motivation and persistence all improve their academic outcomes, highlights the importance of a range of individual, family and community characteristics in cognitive and non-cognitive development. These are the primary motivations for distinguishing between cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities in the current study's context.

Heckman's findings may be reinforced by existing research on capabilities that proves them to be *path-dependent*, that is, achievements or functionings become increasingly determined by past achievements as well as being *irreversible*, that is, failure to achieve certain kinds of functionings narrows a person's options later in life (Yaqub, 2008). What is required, therefore, is a life-course rather than an ahistorical approach to capabilities explicating time as a key variable in interventions to expand people's capabilities. In a sense, the life-course approach also ties the act of growing up to capability formation or human development itself, drawing special attention to childhood years when individuals increasingly develop their capabilities through social, economic and biological processes.

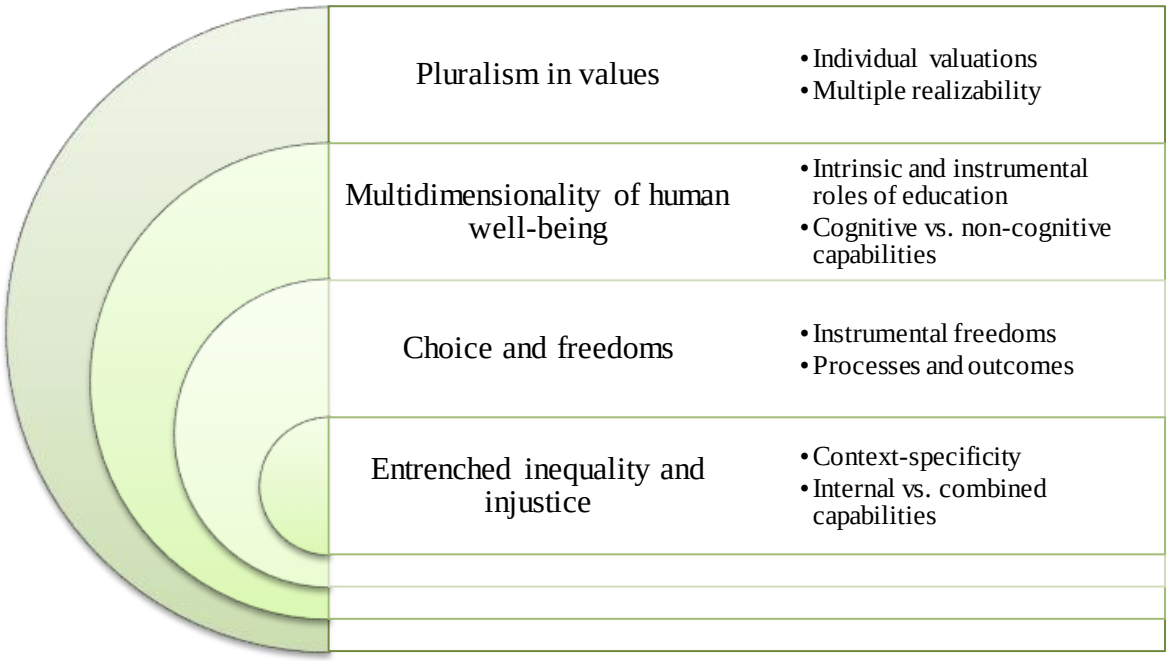
Such a life-course approach to capabilities is also partly supported by Nussbaum's conception of internal versus combined capabilities, a distinction that others such as Sen and Ul Haq realize but do not make explicit (Gasper, 2004). Nussbaum (2011, p.20-21) considers internal capabilities to be the characteristics of a person, the states he/she develops and acquires over time as a result of interaction with his/her environment. As evident, the time dimension emphasizes the fluidity and dynamism associated with such characteristics or states. Internal capabilities, however, are only but a part of combined capabilities, namely, the substantive freedoms resulting from a combination of the abilities residing in that person as well as the political, social and economic environment he or she lives in (Nussbaum, 2011, p.20-21).

Though blurred, the distinction is important in offering practical depth in assessing the shortcomings and achievements of society in the promotion of both internal and combined capabilities. This explains why the distinction is also relevant to the current research exercise of measuring and comparing educational capabilities in the context of school diversity. When considering capabilities for play at school, for instance, most literature on capabilities would draw attention to schooling processes including the time, nature and quality of play, the resources or encouragement afforded by households for play and several individual characteristics such as level of mental and physical ability, gender etc., in determining disadvantage. It is argued, however, that a greater and deliberate focus on internal capabilities or characteristics that develop over time in a person can offer additional insights into why, for instance, despite having similar achievements as those who do not, some children may consider play a waste of time or may still consider gendered play acceptable. Making the distinction between internal and combined capabilities explicit, in other words, aids an understanding of personal and/or adaptive preferences and adds depth to the measurement of capabilities.

Conclusion

The Capability Approach broadens the informational space for evaluating human life by additionally picking on aspects of human development previously ignored or unused by other approaches. When applied to issues of education, the current chapter has demonstrated the usefulness of a capabilities perspective over other approaches in broadening evaluative spaces. Figure 2.1 summarizes how conceptual elements within the Approach inform the theoretical framework for the current research. As discussed earlier, the Approach provides a useful alternative to economic frameworks with inadequate measures or indicators for assessing inequality, disadvantage and social justice in education. Its emphasis on people's freedoms as well as the multidimensionality of human life forces us to look beyond educational issues like academic instruction and achievement - at processes and outcomes, at contexts, and at social, economic and cultural circumstances that condition educational endeavours. The use of broader informational spaces additionally implies a fuller appreciation of both the intrinsic and instrumental roles of education as well as the distinction between cognitive and non-cognitive capabilities. Pluralism, a celebrated feature of the Approach, further emphasizes educational capabilities that individuals have reason to value, while the concept of multiple realizability within the Approach suggests that the specification

Figure 2.1 Theoretical Framework for Research



(Author's own figure)

of such capabilities for any evaluative exercise may be guided by the particular historical contexts of the societies or individuals investigated.

The current chapter has highlighted the theoretical and methodological contributions of this thesis in advancing these theoretical concepts in the Approach for applicability to the Pakistani educational context. It has discussed how the inherent incompleteness within the approach is appropriately combined with other sources of information to meet the current study's research objectives. Firstly, by highlighting the role of children and their families in determining valued educational capabilities, the thesis operationalizes the concept of multiple realizability in the context of tiered education and school diversity in Pakistan. Secondly, by indicating the relevance of cognitive and non-cognitive skills to educational capabilities, it draws attention to aspects within the realm of educational capabilities that education policy in Pakistan must be sensitized to. And, finally, as later chapters indicate, the thesis demonstrates how the distinction between internal and combined capabilities can provide a lead about measurement issues in the current research context. The complex issue of measurement, however, is addressed in detail in the next chapter on methodology and research design, building on the theoretical framework discussed above.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

Introduction

While Chapter 2 analysed the theoretical relevance of a capabilities perspective to educational issues, the current chapter is aimed at addressing methodological concerns in conducting such a research enquiry in a developing-country context like Pakistan. This involves discussion on broader criticisms regarding measurement of capabilities and operationalization of the CA, for example, how does one reconcile a concept as threateningly narrow as measurement with an approach claiming broader informational space? or How do researchers even begin to identify alternatives or potentials that are not realized by individuals but nonetheless deemed valuable – as well as the empirical methods and tools that can be employed to evaluate and compare capabilities without compromising the defining tenets of the CA?

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section 3.1 addresses the broader issue of capability measurement while clarifying several methodological problems thought to impede the use of the CA. This includes a discussion on whether the distinction between capabilities and functionings is relevant in empirical investigations, whether measuring capabilities is always possible, and whether the two-way link between values and education impedes an objective measurement of educational capabilities. Section 3.2 introduces the study's research design and justifies the use of chosen qualitative and quantitative research methods. It adopts Comim's (2008) articulation of the problem of measurement in capabilities to resolve several challenges in operationalizing the CA. Additionally, the section discusses the field setting, for example, the choice of location, the researcher's positionality and selection of schools and participants for research, as well as the practical procedures and challenges in implementing such a research exercise for education in Pakistan.

3.1 Methodological Concerns in Measuring Capabilities

3.1.1 Capabilities or Functionings?

While the CA's philosophical contribution to human development in the form of broadened evaluative spaces for human well-being and quality of life comparisons can hardly be denied, critics argue that the informational demands of the Approach jeopardize its operational and practical significance. A primary concern is that the informational distinction between

capability and functioning is not always clear when applied to real-life situations (Wolff and De-Shalit, 2013). Consider the capability for affiliation for an individual who moves to a new town on his or her own but, despite many facilities for social interaction (a community centre, evening classes, hobby clubs, political meetings and so on), does not engage them and remains alone. Would the individual be said to possess the capability for affiliation? On the other hand, consider an individual who lives in a town with no such social opportunities at his or her disposal but can easily re-locate to a town where they are present. Would he or she be said to possess the capability for affiliation? Wolff and De-Shalit (2013) argue that if the capability for affiliation is defined as having a social network, then neither individual can be said to possess it and the distinction between capability and functioning collapses. Alternatively, if the capability for affiliation is defined in terms of opportunity, then the point beyond which a certain opportunity becomes too remote to be considered a capability remains to be identified.

One possible clarification for Wolff and De-Shalit's arguments is provided by Nussbaum's distinction between internal and combined capabilities. For instance, in the first case, it may be said that the individual's choice to keep to himself or herself is indicative of his or her *internal* capability, reflecting his personal state. Of course, the motivations leading to such a choice (such as a prior unpleasant experience in social gatherings, little expectation of fun or simply growing up to be a shy person) are relevant and open to further scrutiny, but they are definitely distinguishable from *combined* capability or the conditions enabling or restricting the individual[30]. As Nussbaum warns, these not only involve the mere presence of facilities but also the extent to which the individual can access and participate in them[31] (Nussbaum, 2011). Even if Nussbaum's distinction between internal and combined capabilities is disregarded, the *opportunity* to develop a social network allows the individual *choice* in whether or not to do so and is thus of some importance. Sen (1985a) deems the distinction between choice and non-choice factors in capability sets important. In this sense, an individual with no social opportunities at his or her disposal may be considered deprived, although the extent to which he or she considers them valuable or worthy of exercise remains

[30] This is not to say that internal and combined capabilities are separable. Indeed, internal capabilities result from interaction with the social, economic, familial and political environment, and one may argue, for instance, that the latter were lacking or constraining the individual in the previous town, thus resulting in poorer internal capability.
[31] This can itself be directly relevant to the capability for affiliation, entailing "nondiscrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin" (Nussbaum, 2011, p.34).

a matter of pure preference[32].

3.1.2 Valuations and Rankings

This leads to a second but related problem in operationalizing the CA: the practical feasibility or even possibility of listing all possible alternatives in an individual's capability set and determining his or her ranking or preferences. Comim (2008, p.175) notes the task is complicated further by the need to characterize *autonomous* choices, not just any choices in the capability set. Since counterfactual alternatives are inescapably linked to agency and capacity to deliberate, a mere count of possible alternatives equating them with choice does not suffice. One possible way of capturing the counterfactual is to equate it to the latent or unobservable nature of some variables in econometric analysis, but this is still no more than a compromise in the measurement challenge. However, while such operational difficulties remain, Comim (2008) argues that systematic and open-ended methodologies employing the open nature of the CA can facilitate capability assessments.

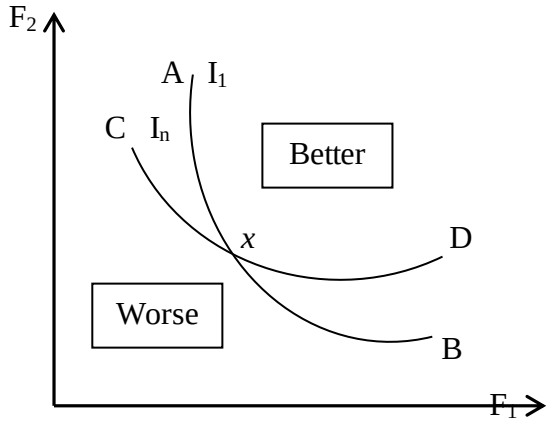
On the issue of valuation and ranking, Sen (1985b; 2009) demonstrates how relaxing the condition of complete orderings can solve decision problems, whilst also allowing interpersonal comparisons. For instance, consider P an *m*-set of partial or complete orderings of functioning vectors, reflecting valuations of functionings that are put forward as possible. An intersection approach can reveal a partial ordering P* which is transitive and may also be given a numeric representation. Figure 3.1 shows that if a family of 'indifference'[33] curves, I_1 to I_n, are plotted for a pair of functioning vectors, F_1 and F_2, and *x* corresponds to P*, the intersection approach reveals all alternatives above A*x*D to be clearly superior to *x* and all points below C*x*B, definitely inferior (Sen, 1985b, p.24). Bellanca and Biggeri (2013, p.6) reiterate Sen's argument by identifying at least four types of decision problems that incomplete or partial orderings help to resolve. These include situations where there is:

i) Provisional incompleteness i.e. two non-commensurate achievements are decided between after implementing the information at hand (e.g. choosing between a medical intervention or foreign tour based on what is more valuable to oneself in the given circumstance).

[32] Wolff and De-Shalit (2013) argue that the value pinned on freedom of choice for certain capabilities is unclear. For instance, it is difficult to view an individual who, not entirely out of choice, happens to be in good health, adequately nourished, sheltered etc. as lacking the capability of Bodily Health. But for freedom of choice, it seems that the individual must own the *process* of achieving for a realized capability to be considered an achievement.

[33] Sen (1985b, p.24) clarifies that the relevant point of importance is that all points above a particular curve are superior and those below, inferior, rather than all points on the curve being indifferent to each other.

Figure 3.1 Intersection Partial Ranking



ii) Recognition, that one alternative is worse in a self-evident way (e.g. recognition of evident injustice in preventable deprivation);

iii) Selection of the best rather than optimal alternative (e.g. in judging arrangement X to be better than Y, identification of a quite different alternative, Z, is irrelevant); and

iv) Ex-ante normative elaboration and/or public deliberation describing alternatives and allowing at least a partial ordering.

Focus groups employed in the current research explored possibilities of partial ranking in (iv), inviting children and parents to elaborate valued alternatives afforded by their chosen type of schooling and ranking them in some order of importance. These 'valued alternatives' or simply educational capabilities referred to all the things that education in their chosen form of schooling enabled children to be and do *and* which their parents and they themselves considered valuable. As explained in Chapter 2, the focus on people's valuations is remindful that the objective of any political debate ought to be the achievements individuals and communities consider meaningful to possess and pursue. In the current research context, therefore, the researcher wished to articulate not just any contextually relevant capabilities but those inherently valued by children and parents.

3.1.3 Values and Education

While Sen considers incomplete rankings to be no cause for embarrassment, Bellanca and Biggeri (2013) additionally cast light on human dilemmas unresolved or ignored by Sen's position. Dilemmas arise when reaching an objective or value necessitates having less of

another and individuals are unable to order or rank them. For instance, an individual with a capability set including two vectors - one corresponding to functionings when living in Tibet and accepting the Chinese government, and the other concerned with living in Tibet and professing to be a Dalai Lama cultist – must decide between a richer level of functionings and his cultural-national identity. What is important to note is that the individual's access to functionings is contingent upon the choice he or she makes, that is, he or she first takes a position (either pro-Chinese government or pro-Dalai Lama) before the respective functionings can follow. Bellanca and Biggeri (2013) thus question Sen's assumption that the choice of a vector of functionings does not modify other vectors in a capability set, and that any element in each vector is either independent or interdependent but not lexicographically superior to any other. They refute both assumptions as the choice of functionings generally alters capability sets and as situations involving dilemmas show, many functionings of a vector depend on the choice of that unique functioning implicated in the dilemma.

The argument relating choice of functionings and valuations of other elements in a capability set is a powerful one. In fact, Vaughan and Walker (2012) explore precisely one such dilemma in education, namely, the possibility of employing capabilities to evaluate education policy when education itself determines and alters individual's capability sets through valuation in the first place. The issue is that education is inherently value-laden and value-forming; if it were only the process of transmission of values, it would have been possible to give exactly identical values and identical capability sets to individuals through education. However, the fact that education is inescapably normative signals how it is also transformative, directly influencing and determining individuals' behaviours and actions. In other words, education not only alters individuals' 'conversion factors' in translating goods and services into capabilities, it also influences their agency goals. This raises several questions regarding how the issue of valuation intercepts the link between education and capability expansion. When making quality of life comparisons, is it more fruitful to consider agency *goal* freedoms rather than agency freedoms? [34] Is it possible or even desirable to

[34] Agency goal freedom refers to an individual's freedom to *form* agency goals, "a kind of meta-freedom not captured by the concept of agency freedom" or freedom to achieve goals itself (Burchardt, 2009, p.8). The link between education and values, therefore, is not only one whereby education transmits values and transforms them into individual behaviours and actions by influencing agency freedoms, but also one whereby the transformative capacity of education shapes individuals' agency *goal* freedoms or beliefs regarding what is valuable. For example, an educational system or process may implicitly or explicitly embody and transmit values like gender injustice. Where such transmission influences individuals' behaviours and actions – for example, by restricting female students in accessing play facilities like playgrounds and swings vis-à-vis their male counterparts at school – the transformative capacity of education in shaping agency freedoms is brought to light. However, to say that education may also affect agency goal freedoms is to say that, through such learning experiences, the female students in class also start considering submissiveness and passivity vis-à-vis their male counterparts intrinsically

achieve a value-free education? What types of educational influences or values are compatible with expansion of real freedoms? Vaughan and Walker (2012) argue they are those that enable individuals to learn, realize and clarify what is valuable to them, or, in other words, form their own significant values. Providing evidence from South African universities, they demonstrate how dialogue, critical knowledge and experiential learning help students internalize pro-poor values alongside developing their capability to work towards that value. This link between education, values and capabilities is also relevant to the research question at hand: in obtaining participants' valuations in education, it is important to bear in mind the people and processes that may influence individual responses. For instance, children's valuations are not entirely separable from those of their parents, nor can they be viewed outside contextual factors in communities and schools, such as collective spaces for discussion, teaching, curriculum etc. At the same time, the study has partly sought to explore precisely the same link, that is, whether certain kinds of schooling systems correlate with certain types of valuations in education, and their similarities and dissimilarities (as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5).

Values are central to individuals' capability sets as they determine the functionings important to them. However, the above discussion urges that attention be given to the *processes* involved in value information, questioning *how* individuals come to value certain doings and beings as their reasons to value can be severely constrained by circumstances (Burchardt, 2009). This points to a third difficulty in employing the CA resulting from individuals' *adaptation* or internalization of certain values, making them endure disadvantage and influencing their preferences. Adaptive preferences are important in their own right: even preferences that have adapted deserve careful scrutiny owing to their role in political and social assessments (Unterhalter, 2012). They can reflect the entire upbringing of individuals in society (Nussbaum, 2011), allowing us to re-consider individuals' preferences as deeper 'structural inequalities' rather than 'false perceptions' (Agarwal, 2008). A growing body of literature today stresses the relational and contextual aspects of adaptation with respect to children's education and schooling experiences. Unterhalter's (2012) study, for instance, is an illustration of how adaptation and lived experiences of absolute and relative poverty help explain why some children are better able to articulate constraints on capabilities in educational attainment and ways to overcome them. The challenge, then, lies in disentangling

valuable and desirable. In other words, education in this way not only transmits the value of gender injustice to female students, it also alters their agency freedoms and agency goal freedoms.

adaptation – in analysing and understanding 'the subjective, cognitive and reflective position of children in view of the actual constraints and opportunities of their domestic, cultural, social, economic and political environments' (Biggeri and Libanora, 2011). To the extent that information collected through quantitative research instruments employed in the present study (and explained below) has explored these dimensions in children's living environments, there is scope to investigate the role of adaptation in influencing their perceptions about valued educational capabilities (Clark and Qizilbash, 2008).

While such challenges cast doubt over the extent to which gaps in theoretical and practical applications of the CA may be bridged (particularly given its emphasis on non-utility information in evaluating well-being and the prevailing dearth of appropriate capability indicators), empirical applications of the approach demonstrate how capabilities can, counter to prevailing wisdom, be measured, as well as clarify theoretical ambiguities in the approach and make its concepts operational (Anand and Van Hees, 2006). Anand, Krishnakumar and Tran (2011) argue that people's valued freedoms can be identified employing a mixture of theory, argument and evidence, and classify three categories of researchers addressing operationalization-al concerns and lack of data in the approach: i) those pointing out the presence of a number of direct capability indicators in prevailing secondary data; ii) those developing a variety of latent variable structural models to demonstrate how econometric techniques can be used to make inferences about capabilities when direct indicators are not available; and iii) those demonstrating the possibility of developing capability indicators for a general population across a range of dimensions impacting quality of life. Anand et al. (2009), for instance, have employed Nussbaum's account of capabilities to develop appropriate capability indicators and explore the extent to which they are covariates of people's satisfaction/happiness. Similarly, Clark (2003) has illustrated how surveys conducted in South Africa provided information about abstract concepts like human well-being and some of the 'good things' (or capability dimensions) in people's lives. However, such empirical evidence begs the question: *Exactly how* can capabilities be measured? That there is no definite step-by-step process or mechanism to conduct empirical applications of the CA is attributed not only to the nature of the approach itself, but also to the fact that it is an approach and not a method. Nonetheless, the following section demonstrates how separating and paying careful attention to conceptual and practical components in the measurement problem can lead to an appropriate methodology for capability-related research investigations.

3.2 Research Design and Methods

3.2.1 Mixed Methods

A sequential mixed-methods inquiry was designed to meet the present study's research objectives. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p.5) define mixed-methods research as that in which the researcher:

> *collects and analyzes persuasively and rigorously both qualitative and quantitative data (based on research questions); mixes the two forms of data concurrently by combining them, sequentially by having one build on the other, or embedding one within the other; gives priority to one or both forms of data (in terms of what the research emphasizes); uses these procedures in a single study or in multiple phases of a program of study; frames these procedures within philosophical worldviews and theoretical lenses; and, combines the procedures into specific research designs that direct the plan for conducting the study.*

The most obvious advantage of such a design lies in overcoming the insufficiency and incompleteness in adopting either method alone. In fact, 'mixed methods research bridges the divide between quantitative and qualitative, encourages use of multiple worldviews alongside allowing greater freedom in employing as many research methods to address a problem as appropriate as well as combining numbers and words and deductive and inductive thinking' (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011, p.12-13). Vaughan (2007, p.110-111) provides three reasons that such mixed-methods approaches are particularly important in measuring educational inequalities. Firstly, assessing education through numbers alone is controversial as there are limits to what quantitative data can reveal about educational processes. Secondly, quantitative descriptions of inequality blur or block our vision of inequality as a social construction and consequently the many facets in which it manifests itself (*opportunity, treatment, achievement, outcome* etc.). Lastly, there is growing awareness among international agencies that reliance on existing simplistic educational indicators results in policy reforms with a negligible or even detrimental effect on educational experiences, thus pointing towards the considerable scope for strategies to improve and expand existing measures, possibly by combining them with qualitative and theoretical analyses. In the case of educational capabilities, too, one would imagine that bridging the divide between

theoretical lists of capabilities and empirical evidence requires analysis of both text and numbers, or that merging the CA's philosophical contributions with practical relevance requires pragmatism in combining various qualitative and quantitative techniques. Indeed, prior research on education and capabilities (e.g. Maguire et al., 2012; Biggeri, 2007) has demonstrated the rationale for combining qualitative techniques, like focus groups, with quantitative analysis involving surveys. The current study employs a similar research design. Being inspired by Comim's (2008) broad definition of measurement, it entails:

(i) *Clarification of concepts,* or revisiting some basic tenets of the Capabilities Approach, namely, *valuational foundation, human diversity, objectivity*, and the *counterfactual*. The bottom-up nature of the CA requires participation from people who are the agents of development change themselves. Empirical applications of the approach therefore must not only include a valuation exercise by people regarding capabilities and functionings they consider valuable, but also acknowledge and account for the diversity inherent in their personal, environmental, social, relational and distributional heterogeneities (Comim, 2008). Being objective in such a measurement exercise requires adequate consideration of the adaptive preference problem in adopting techniques that test the accuracy of subjective information as well as empirical treatment of data to capture the counterfactual nature of capabilities.

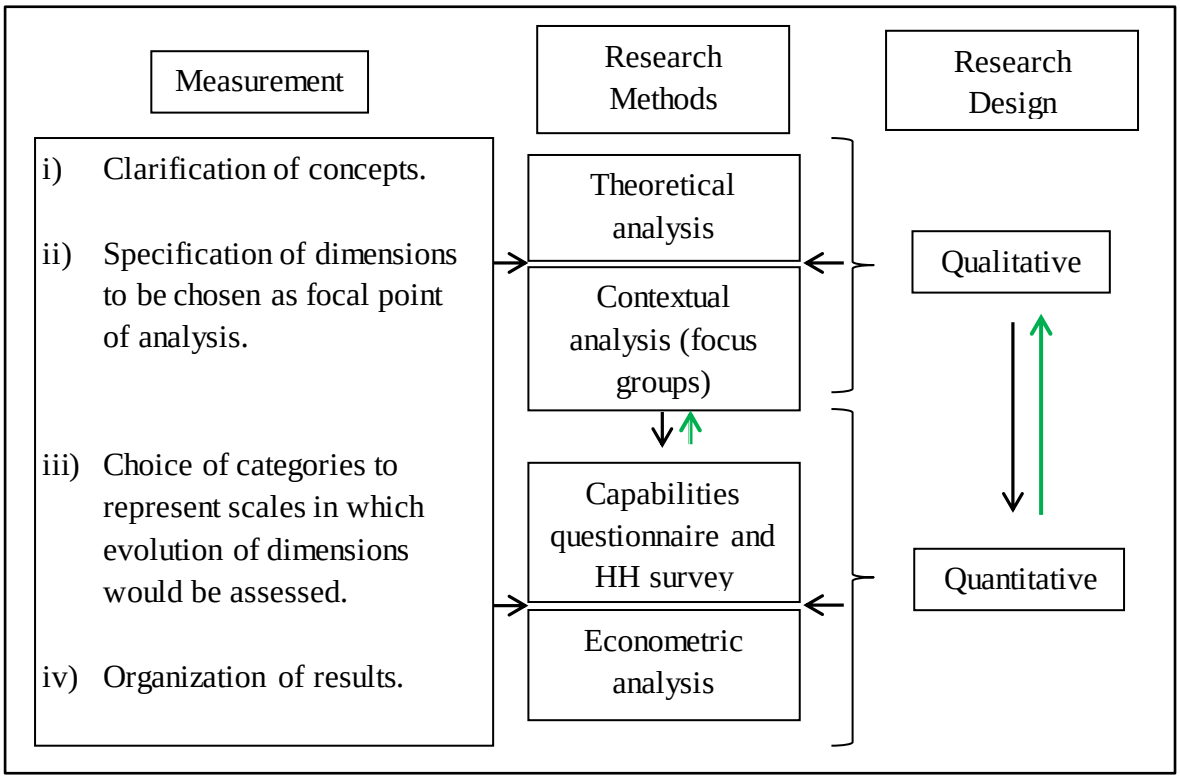
(ii) *Specification of dimensions to be chosen as the focal point of analysis.* In light of the above, this involved crafting an apt design for the identification of relevant educational capabilities for comparison and the dimensions in which they were to be assessed. As stated earlier, a valuation exercise requiring identification and possible weighing and ranking of valuable things that people are able to be and do is a core feature of the approach. For primary school children, however, the analysis becomes further complicated as their opinions are likely to be influenced by others, such as parents. This seemed particularly relevant in the Pakistani context where a certain level of obedience and conformity on the part of children is often a cultural expectation and independent thinking is discouraged. Thus, in addition to the *a priori* list of capabilities identified from literature, focus groups with children as well as parents across various school types were included in the research design to arrive at a final list of educational capabilities for measurement and comparison.

(iii) *Choice of categories to represent the scales in which the evolution of dimensions would be assessed*, in other words, the need to develop a research tool allowing objective measurement of identified capabilities with valid and reliable indicators and appropriate response scales. The two instruments employed in this research, a capabilities questionnaire and household survey – are discussed below.

(iv) *Organization of results*, that is, a coherent and systematic way of displaying results, as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Figure 3.2 provides a diagrammatic translation of Comim's (2008) measurement framework into the choice of research methods and consequent research design for the study. A mixed-methods design was necessitated by two factors: (i) the participatory principle to permit identification of contextually relevant educational capabilities in Pakistan, supplementing theoretical ones identified from literature: this corresponded to an initial qualitative enquiry employing focus groups to obtain participants' valuations about educational capabilities and revealing information about questions and variables important for comparison; (ii) the need to objectively measure such educational capabilities across school types to provide a meaningful

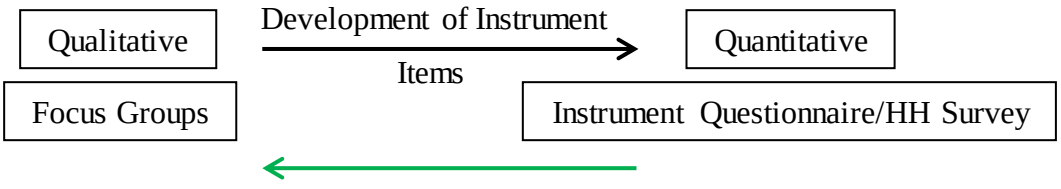
Figure 3.2 Mixed-Methods Research for Measuring Capabilities



comparison. This corresponded to a subsequent quantitative phase involving the construction and implementation of a capabilities questionnaire inspired by the elements identified in (i) for children in various school types, and an accompanying household survey for their parents to obtain detailed information on each child participant.

Quantitative and qualitative methods are combinable in several ways in mixed-methods research. However, a two-stage exploratory design was chosen in light of the research study's objectives in which a researcher starts by qualitatively exploring a topic before building a second quantitative phase. A common purpose of the exploratory research design is to develop better measurements with specific samples of populations and observe whether data from a few individuals in the qualitative phase can be generalized to a larger sample of a population in the quantitative phase (Creswell, 2014). In many applications, the researcher develops an instrument as an intermediate step between the two phases, building on qualitative results and aiding subsequent quantitative data collection (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011, p. 86), often referred to as the instrument development design. As shown in Figure 3.3, this variant essentially comprises three steps: an initial qualitative phase, the instrument development phase, and the quantitative phase in which the instrument is administered to a sample population. In this way, exploratory research provides important background information on context and subjects and facilitates development of adequate instruments to measure the concepts an investigator wishes to study with a population. Notice, however, the green arrows in Figures 3.2 and 3.3: they indicate and emphasize the importance of a reflexive exercise in reconciling the foundational and practical levels of analysis in the present study (Comim, 2008).

Figure 3.3 Exploratory Research Design (Instrument Development Design)



Exploratory research entails several challenges. Firstly, a researcher must choose from the several possible ways of translating qualitative data into the second quantitative phase. One way, as chosen in the current study, is to use software analysis to generate quotes, codes and

themes that in turn provide elements, variables and scales for the instrument. The ensuing scale development also needs to follow accepted procedures such as item discrimination, construct validity and reliability estimates (Creswell, 2014, p.226). Validity is a special concern as the researcher may fail to take full advantage of the richness of qualitative findings in the instrument or may not follow the appropriate steps to develop a rigorous instrument. A related issue concerns how much weight is assigned to each data collection phase in the study. Secondly, exploratory research can be time-consuming as the researcher must wait for the initial qualitative database to inform quantitative measures and analyse both qualitative and quantitative data sets separately. This was indeed a challenge for the present study, with procedural challenges and delays in each of the two phases (explained below) stretching the fieldwork into several visits over an 18-month period. Lastly, exploratory research requires the researcher to be well acquainted with both qualitative and quantitative research methods and well-rehearsed in the skills needed to conduct them. The remaining chapter describes how some of these challenges were met whilst explaining the procedures for qualitative and quantitative data collection in the context of this research. In doing so, it also provides a step-by-step account of the intermediate
step, namely, the construction of appropriate instruments for the quantitative phase.

3.2.2 Design and Implementation of Research Instruments

3.2.2a Research Setting

Selection of Field Site

The fieldwork for the research commenced in 2014 and was conducted in Lahore city/district in the Punjab province of Pakistan. This is because Punjab comprises a little over half the total population of Pakistan, that is, over 98 million out of the total 180 million (GoPb, 2013), and is home to the largest number of primary schools in the country (AEPAM, 2014b). Within Punjab, the choice of Lahore as the site of fieldwork was made in light of the study's research objectives, demanding variation in the characteristics of enrolled children, particularly socio-economic status, as well as types of schools. The provincial government does not collect data on people's socio-economic status at the district and union council level, however, Lahore District was chosen as it alone constitutes nearly 10 per cent of Punjab's total population, that is, over 9 million (GoPb, 2013), and is the most populated district of Pakistan. Also, being the second most populous city in Pakistan after Karachi and the

metropolitan centre of Punjab, Lahore city attracts individuals from all over the country for education, employment and commercial activities, thus potentially offering the greatest variation in children's background characteristics and socio-economic status. Moreover, according to the provincial school census data (PESRP, 2012), Lahore District comprises a roughly equal number of public and private primary schools – 443 and 468 respectively – potentially offering greater variation by type of (private) school as well. This decision was justified in the absence of government data that, as explained below, does not differentiate between different types of private schools, for example, elitist and low cost private schools. Additionally, practical considerations, such as availability of data regarding primary schools and education, access to local bureaucracy and political leadership and ease of access and security for the researcher, also informed the choice of location.

Selection of Schools and Participants

The qualitative sample for the study comprised 115 Grade 5 children and 44 parent participants across 12 schools in Lahore. The focus on Grade 5 or roughly 9-10-year-old children in primary education was justified by the fact that certain capabilities that fail to mature by such an age do not develop at a later stage. Additionally, the relatively low survival rate for primary education in Pakistan and the deplorable state of the same captured in the current and historical accounts presented in Chapter 1 reinforced this decision. The focus on primary age children was also partly a result of the dearth of research on capabilities with respect to younger children in Pakistan. Children and parents were selected randomly, as explained in Section 3.2.2b. For the selection of schools, stratified purposive sampling was employed to ensure variation in school types within and across categories. Schools, however, were chosen from different geographical locations to ensure wider coverage across the city and minimize the potential for bias in selection. Purposive sampling was justified by the fact that while public, private and religious schools are not homogenous categories and schools within each vary in terms of quality, cost, etc., government data does not differentiate between them on the basis of such criteria. And yet, representation of various types of schools in the sample was necessary. The stratification criteria to reflect differentiation within each of the three categories were therefore decided in light of the data available. Public schools were stratified by provincial and federal government ownership, private schools were stratified by school fee charged to distinguish between elitist or high cost and low cost schools, and religious schools were stratified by type of education offered, that is, traditional

madrassas versus private religious schooling. The stratified purposive sample included:

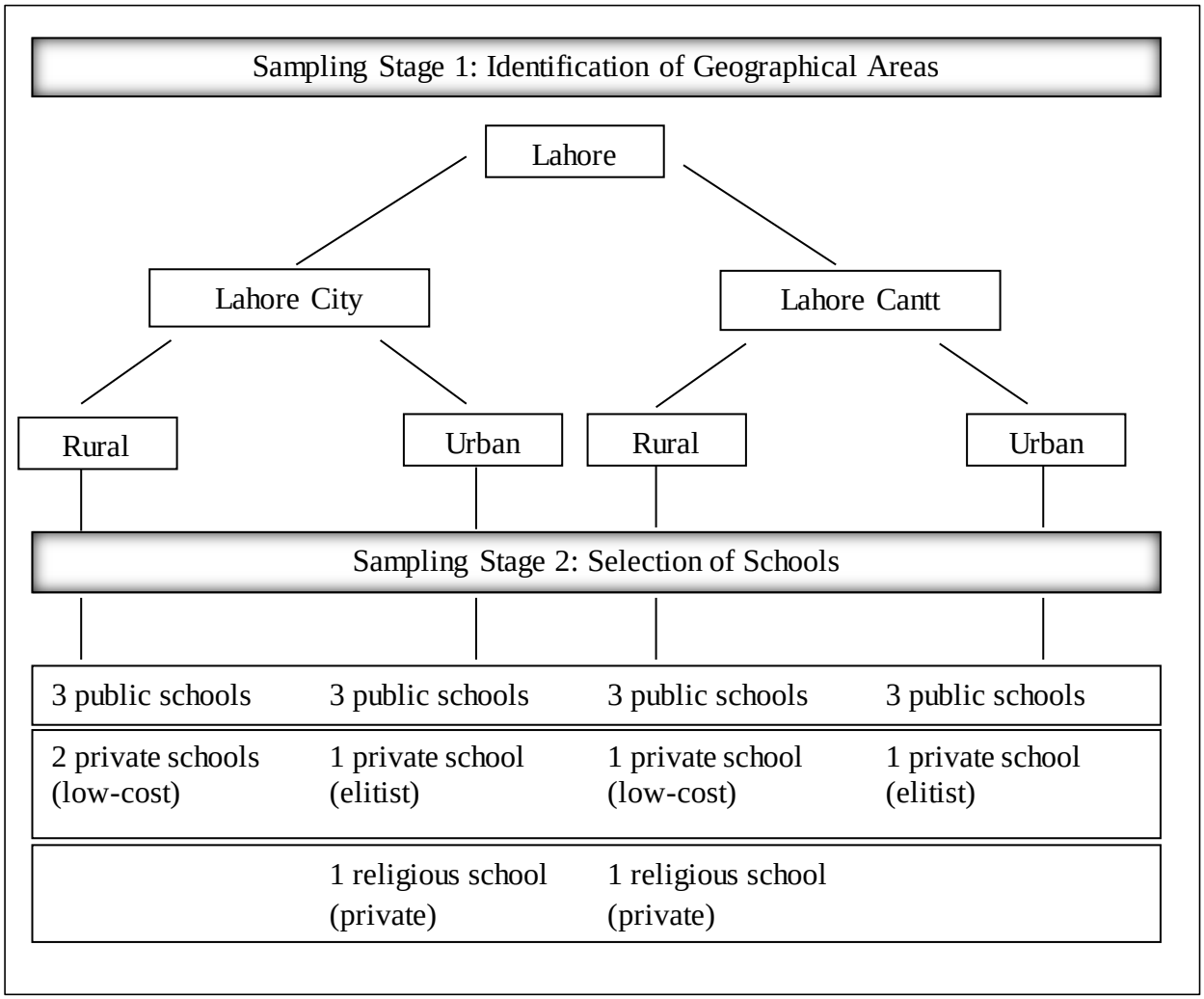
- Four public schools, including three provincial government schools and one federal government school
- Four private schools, including two elitist or high cost schools with a monthly fee over Rs. 12,000 and two low cost schools with a monthly fee between Rs.2,000 and Rs. 5,000
- Four religious schools, including two private religious schools and two madrassas

The quantitative sample for the study comprised 177 Grade 5 children respondents for the capabilities questionnaire and corresponding HH survey responses from 140 households/parents, across 19 schools in Lahore[35]. The selection of schools for the quantitative fieldwork phase was initially randomized, comprising random lists of public and private schools generated using the Annual School Census Data for Punjab. However, approval for the random sample was denied by the relevant authorities at the local Education Office based on concerns regarding significant geographical variation between selected schools, potentially affecting the practical feasibility and accuracy of the proposed research exercise. Thus a mutually agreed multi-stage sampling process was adopted as shown in Figure 3.4. The first stage involved identification of geographical areas where the surveys could be conducted. Lahore comprises two administrative divisions – Lahore City and Lahore Cantt from within which one rural and one urban locality were each selected.

This was done to ensure fair representation of urban and rural areas in light of the spatial inequalities highlighted in Chapter 1 as well as Lahore's skewed urban population – 7.5 million compared to 1.6 million rural people (GoPb, 2013). The second stage involved random selection of three primary public schools within each locality using the Annual School Census Data – a girls' school, a boys' school, and a mixed school – followed by random selection of nearby private and religious schools to minimize the location effect. Random selection of schools and participants helped minimize potential biases in sampling and the qualitative and quantitative responses obtained. Figure 3.4 illustrates the final selection of 12 public, five private (two elitist, three low-cost) and two private religious schools for the quantitative phase, which also reflects the overall proportion of (primary) public, private and religious schools in Punjab (AEPAM, 2014b). The sampling strategies for

[35] Section 3.2.2b explains why HH survey responses could not be obtained for all the 177 children included in the quantitative sample.

Figure 3.4 Sampling for the Quantitative Phase



both the qualitative and quantitative phase are summarized in Table 3.1 below.

Language and Translation

Focus group interviews with children and parents during the qualitative phase were conducted in the national language, Urdu, and most respondents conversed fluently in the chosen medium of discussion. A small number of children in elitist private schools also chose to respond in English, while some children's parents in public and low-cost private schools frequently code-switched between Urdu and the regional language, Punjabi. However, being a native of, and having lived and studied in, Pakistan, the researcher was well versed in all three languages, English, Urdu and Punjabi, and was therefore able to communicate effectively with participants. While transcribing and translating qualitative data, English words such as 'grooming', 'etiquettes' etc. were retained as originally employed by

participants in the local context. Such issues of terminology are explained as necessary in the analysis chapters, 4 and 5.

The quantitative phase involved the use of two research instruments: a capabilities questionnaire and a household survey. For the former, both an English and an Urdu version were provided because of the varied English language proficiency of children across public, private and religious schools. The two versions were also piloted to address language and vocabulary issues in comprehension before the final implementation. The latter, namely, the household survey was only in English as it was primarily intended for filling and use by the researcher and field assistants. However, realizing that most parents or household respondents may be more comfortable being asked questions in Urdu, a translated copy was maintained by each to ensure uniformity in survey responses across different households.

Table 3.1 Summary of Sample Design

<table>
<tr><th>Research Phase</th><th>Research Instrument</th><th>Purpose</th><th>Sampling Technique</th><th>No. of Schools/ Participants</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Qualitative</td><td rowspan="2">Focus Groups</td><td rowspan="2">To identify and arrive at a list of contextually relevant educational capabilities.</td><td>Stratified purposive</td><td>12 schools
(Public: 4
Private: 4
Religious: 4)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Random</td><td>117 children
44 parents</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Quantitative</td><td>Capabilities Questionnaire</td><td>To measure and compare children's educational capabilities across different types of schools.</td><td rowspan="2">Multi-stage:

Stage 1: Identification of geographical areas.

Stage 2: Random selection of schools and participants in selected geographical areas.</td><td rowspan="2">19 schools
(Public: 12
Private: 5
Religious: 2)

177 children
140 parents/ corresponding HH respondents</td></tr>
<tr><td>Household Survey</td><td>To assess how certain individual, family and household characteristics mediate children's educational capabilities across school types.</td></tr>
</table>

3.2.2b Research Design and Implementation

Qualitative Phase

The qualitative phase of data collection was conducted in Lahore between March and June, 2014.

The rationale for the qualitative phase was twofold: (i) to provide insights into children's and parents' valuations in the absence of any prior research on children's educational capabilities in the local context and dearth of similar qualitative information at district, provincial and national levels in Pakistan; and (ii) to provide a participatory approach to identifying and using contextually relevant capabilities in the research design. Focus or group interviews were chosen for the initial qualitative phase for several reasons:

(i) Focus groups are *focused* on a particular topic an investigator wishes to discuss in depth. This often involves eliciting information about people's opinions, feelings or perceptions, as in the current study (about participants' views on capabilities in education), and sometimes even functionings, although this is uncommon.

(ii) Focus groups not only provide information on people's opinions but also the reasons behind them. They help understand the 'why' behind responses, providing deeper contextual insights (Jayanthi and Nelson, 2001, p.2).

(iii) Since they involve working with several people simultaneously rather than individually, focus groups reveal the dynamics of group interaction, bringing to the surface aspects of a situation which may not be otherwise exposed (Punch, 2005, p.171). The atmosphere in focus groups is one of sharing and discussing rather than interviewing, stimulating people to make explicit their views, perceptions, motivations and reasons[36]. In this way, they may also be said to carry tremendous face validity, that is, "you get what you hear and see" (Jayanthi and Nelson, 2001, p.8). In the least, they allow the chance to observe nonverbal behaviour alongside direct verbal interaction[37].

In the present research context, the choice of focus groups with children was particularly useful as it yielded not only information about their individual schooling experiences, but also collective accounts of reality with class fellows and friends. Discussion on topics like

36 Retrospectively, this aspect worked remarkably well in encouraging parents to voice their opinions in discussions and become engaged in healthy debates over various school and learning issues.

37 Again, these aspects were useful in explaining intra-household and gender dynamics in homes and classrooms.

school learning practices, peer-related activities, friendships and play provided both shared insights and divergent thought from children of the same age and school type. The feeling of being collective participants in a discussion rather than individual respondents in an interview additionally relieved the young participants of pressure to provide the 'right' answers, and allowed the researcher to enjoy a good rapport with them.

Two separate focus groups were conducted with parents and children at each school. A two-step procedure was followed to choose participants: firstly, a random selection of 5th Grade students was made in a preliminary visit to each school, ensuring fair selection across multiple sections and also of boys and girls where applicable, and secondly, the school staff contacted the same children's parents inviting them to participate in the focus group on a chosen future date[38]. A total of 20 focus groups were conducted, 12 with children and eight with parents[39], following a detailed focus group script with identical questions for parents and children (Appendix 3A). Box 3.1 lists the questions discussed during focus groups. The

Box 3.1 Focus Group Questions for Children and Parents

Q1. What do you feel education should enable you/your child to be and do?
Q2. Do you feel some of these things are best provided by your chosen form of schooling (Public/private/religious)?
Q3. Do you think other types of schools are better at providing some other things?
Q4. Do you feel there are certain things you value in education but none of the prevalent forms of schooling in Pakistan are fostering?
Q5. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or ask regarding our discussion

primary purpose of the discussion was to seek participants' opinions about valued capabilities in education. They were additionally asked whether they considered their chosen or other school types to be better at promoting these capabilities, and whether there were any capabilities they valued in education but found absent from the prevalent forms of schooling

[38] In most cases, the researcher was able to make a random selection of students herself. Where this was not possible, school administrations were requested and ultimately responsible for selecting students. However, it was repeatedly stressed that they select students irrespective of academic performance, social background and other differences, and the fact that Principals often passed the instructions to teachers in the researcher's presence ensured that biases were minimized. In some instances, it was also allowed to conduct focus groups with children the same day.

[39] One private religious school eventually denied access to parents, and focus groups with parents at a private school and a Madrassa could not be arranged due to time and logistical constraints.

in Pakistan[40]. An implicit attempt was also made to seek information on possible prioritization and ranking of capabilities and some factors affecting school choice.

Instrument Development Phase

A primary data collection decision in an exploratory research design concerns the aspects of qualitative results that will be used to inform quantitative data collection. In this case, the resulting questionnaire for measuring and comparing children's educational capabilities borrowed information from two main data sources: (i) prior literature review and the theoretical list of educational capabilities provided in Table 2.1 and (ii) software-coded qualitative data on participants' contributions from focus group discussions.

Voice recordings from the focus groups were replayed several times to ensure accuracy in translation and transcription of qualitative information. A final review comparing audio recordings with the drafted script was completed before inputting the data into *Atlas.ti* software. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p.188) recommend that a typical qualitative data analysis should consist of identifying useful quotes or sentences, coding segments of information and the grouping of codes into broad themes. Such configuration of data allows the researcher to pinpoint the central phenomenon as the main quantitative construct to be assessed by the instrument, and the themes and codes provide useful hints about the choice of variables and specific questions to be asked. In the current study, a two-stage inductive coding approach was adopted to assign independent labels to observations of interest, later grouping them in categories of educational capabilities. This was done to avoid biases in attributing quotations to pre-defined codes to which they might not have been entirely relevant.

Box 3.2 details the steps followed to prepare the capabilities questionnaire as suggested by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p.189). Firstly, the results from *Atlas.ti* were used to arrive at a list of *contextualized* educational capabilities, as shown in Table 3.2, combining the content and context of participants' comments with theoretical dimensions. Comim (2009) states that it is in normative valuations of such nature that one is able to reveal the CA at its

[40] Responses to these questions were mostly based on children's and parents' first-hand experiences of switching between public, private and religious schools, minimizing counterfactual errors in reporting. In other instances, their opinions were supported by experiences of children living in close proximity, for example, relatives or cousins living under the same roof in a joint family system (very common in the Pakistani context) and/or families in the neighbourhood. This meant that participants' perceptions and opinions were grounded in lived or real-life experiences, and not merely imagined or perceived reality.

Box 3.2. Developing a Good Quantitative Instrument
(Adopted from Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011, p.189)

1. Determine what you want to measure, and ground yourself in theory and in the constructs to be addressed (as well as in the qualitative findings).
2. Generate an item pool, using short items, an appropriate reading level, and questions that ask a single question (based on participant language when possible).
3. Determine the scale of measurement for the items and the physical construction of the instrument.
4. Have the item pool reviewed by experts.
5. Consider the inclusion of validated items from other scales or instruments.
6. Administer the instrument to a sample for validation.
7. Evaluate the items (e.g. item-scale correlations, items variance, reliability).
8. Optimize scale length based on item performance and reliability.

best. Being incomplete of necessity, the approach allows expansion of informational spaces in areas justified by an investigator's research objectives or nature of enquiry. Further, the concept of multiple realizability implies that capabilities in the chosen dimensions may be specified according to the particular historical contexts of the societies or individuals investigated (Comim, 2008). In this case, participants' valuations ultimately reflected in the list of contextualized capabilities were included following Biggeri and Libanora's (2011) rule of thumb: a dimension in the capability space was validated if (i) it was identified by at least one participant spontaneously and (ii) multiple[41] participants valued it. This did not merely equal *groundedness* or the number of links to quotations for a particular dimension in Atlas (Friese, 2014) as it would have ignored spontaneity and could potentially have comprised comments from a single or handful of participants. It also did not imply that other, less frequently mentioned, dimensions were ignored. In fact, thorough reviews ensured quite the opposite, paying equal attention to *density* of dimensions or links to other codes and memos in Atlas (Friese, 2014), incorporating them to the extent they were practically feasible to measure. As a result, two new categories of educational capabilities, *Religion* and *Values and Etiquettes*, were created following participants' comments. As described in later chapters, together these dimensions (listed in Table 3.2) formed the basis for qualitative and quantitative comparisons across school types to test differences across them.

[41] Biggeri and Libanora (2011) condition it to a *majority* of participants, not just multiple participants.

Table 3.2 Contextualized Capabilities

Capabilities	Theoretical Dimensions	Contextualized Capabilities
Practical Reason	• Being able to form a conception of the good. • Engaging in critical reflection and planning of one's life. • Being able to aspire.	• Being able to tell right from wrong. • Being able to form independent opinions and express them. • Being able to aspire/become someone.
Knowledge and Senses, Imagination and Thought	• Being able to acquire, use and produce knowledge. • Literacy. • Being able to use the senses. • Being able to think, imagine and reason (in a manner cultivated by education). • Being able to use the mind in ways protected by freedom of expression and religious exercise.	• Being able to understand things conceptually (and not 'rote' learn). • Being able to think, reason and imagine. • Being able to read (books). • Being able to learn and speak English.
Learning Disposition	• Being able to have curiosity and a desire for learning. • Being an active inquirer. • Being confident about one's ability to learn.	• Being motivated to obtain a good education/willingness to study. • Being interested in and inquisitive about learning new things in class.
Emotions	• Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear or anxiety. • Developing emotions and imagination for understanding empathy, awareness and discernment.	• Being free of fear in class (e.g. of asking questions, corporal punishment etc.). • Being encouraged by teachers. • Being loved and cared for by teachers (mostly linked to affiliation).
Bodily Integrity	• Being protected from violence of any	• Being free from physical

	sort.	and verbal assault, by both teachers and fellow students. • Being safe and secure at school.
Social Relations (Affiliation)	• Being able to live with and toward others. • Being able to show concern for, and imagine the situation of another. • Being able to form networks of friendship and belonging for learning, support and leisure.	• Learning to live peacefully and not fight with class fellows. • Being empathetic. • Being able to form good friendships. • Being confident in interaction with others.
Respect (Affiliation)	• Being able to have respect for oneself (self-respect and non-humiliation). • Being able to be respected and treated with dignity (with equal worth as others).	• Not being scolded/beaten in front of others. • Being given equal (due) attention by teachers in class.
Play	• Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational/leisure activities. • Being able to exercise.	• Being able to have enough leisure time for play. • Being able to have opportunities for and participate in physical activity at school.
Values and Etiquettes (contextual)		• Learning basic etiquettes and manners. • Learning good values (e.g. honesty, obedience etc.).
Religion (contextual)		• Being able to learn about one's religion. • Being tolerant and respectful of other religions.

Next, several data sources were consulted including (i) local secondary data sources like PEC (2009) and ASER (2015) education evaluation reports to obtain an accurate picture of Grade

5 children's achieved competencies in Pakistan; and (ii) international theses, journals and directories concerning quantitative instruments employed with children of roughly the same age, to obtain information on the questions asked, choice of scales and physical construct of surveys (e.g. ASEBA, 2013; UK Data Service, 2014; Meredith, 2008; Sabatelli and Anderson, 2005; Goldman and Busch, 1978; Goldman and Saunders, 1978). In light of such resources, pools of questions were generated for each dimension in the list of contextualized capabilities, differentiating between internal and combined capabilities and functioning or achievement where applicable. Most of the questions employed a 5-point Likert scale to measure agreement or frequency (e.g. Strongly disagree – Strongly agree or Never true for me – Always true for me). The choice of a 5-point scale was justified by the long-standing challenges of designing instruments suitable for primary age children who are too young to express their feelings, attitudes and desires (Cicirelli et al., 1971) as well as having been used similarly in prior instruments (e.g. the Classroom Behavior Inventory by Cicirelli et al., 1971; Sabatelli and Anderson, 2005). Survey validity and reliability were addressed partly by using questions similar to already existing ones with established validity and reliability and partly by conducting prior focus groups and pilot runs with Grade 5 children. Focus groups helped establish the relevance of everyday school experiences that the questionnaire related to and ensured that the questionnaire adopted children's language to describe most elements (Maguire et al., 2012), whilst pilots or field-tests helped rectify the remaining discrepancies and optimize scales[42]. Internal consistency reliability for the final version of the questionnaire (Appendix 3B) in the quantitative phase was verified using Cronbach's alpha: 0.85 for a sample of 177 children[43].

An accompanying household survey was created to seek more information on each child participant (Appendix 3C). This is because when analysing children's educational capabilities across school types, it is important to consider other contexts, such as families and communities which play a role in (cognitive and non-cognitive) skill development and social

[42] Pilot runs for the capabilities questionnaire were planned during a second fieldwork visit between November 2014 and January 2015. However, with the unfolding of the Peshawar school attack on December 16, 2014, these became subject to several delays as the Punjab provincial government ordered schools to remain closed for an extended period of time and to tighten security arrangements. Schools failing to satisfy government inspectors of adequate security measures were not allowed to reopen till having done so. For schools that did reopen mid-January 2015, attendance remained poor and did not stabilize for several days as parents and children remained in the grip of fear. Consequently, the English version of the questionnaire was piloted among 30 students in a private and a public school in Sargodha during January 2015, whereas the Urdu version was piloted during the next fieldwork phase. As stated, the results were used to amend questionnaire content, such as vocabulary or phrasing, and optimize scales, such as the introduction of a simpler and uniform 1 – 5 Likert scale, to arrive at the final version of the questionnaire (Appendix 3B).

[43] In the early stages of research, modest reliability of 0.70 or higher suffices (STATA, 2013a).

progress (OECD, 2015; Appleton et al., 2006). In fact, Morrison and McIntyre (1971, p.15) argue that the distinction between home and school environments is more convenient than explanatory as home background often determines the characteristics of the school one attends[44], and it is in relation to a child's experiences at school that the home environment influences academic success. Historically, several factors in the home environment have been identified and measured in relation to children's academic achievement, including family size, social class, living space, parents' intelligence or genetic situation of intelligence, parental education and attitudes etc. Thus parental decisions regarding access and choice of schooling for children are typically influenced by their own internal and combined capabilities, for example, educational attainment, affordability, availability of quality education etc. These also have a direct bearing on their children's gains from undergoing the process of education. Silles (2011) describes the various channels of intergenerational effects of parental schooling on children's cognitive and non-cognitive development. She argues that the real scope for achieving equality through public sector reform emerges because parents' own education and endowments have an important bearing on their children's education and development. Parents' endowments or resources correlate with their level of schooling and also each other's endowments and schooling since people tend to marry likes. Moreover, their respective abilities may be a genetic outcome of their own parents' ability and education, thus bringing the intergenerational element full circle.

Expanding on these, one is easily reminded of Sen's (1999a, p.70-71) identification of important sources of diversity between human beings (Comim, 2008):

i) personal heterogeneities (e.g. age, health status);
ii) environmental diversities (e.g. the physical environment);
iii) variations in social climate (e.g. local culture, norms);
iv) differences in relational perspectives (e.g. hierarchies, job relations) and;
v) distribution within the family (e.g. distribution of resources, prioritization).

Given the several kinds and multidimensionality of diversities, it is not surprising that empirical investigations encounter a fundamental desirability-versus-possibility dilemma in measuring such *control variables* (Morrison and McIntyre, 1971, p.15). However, Comim (2008, p.169) reiterates Sen's (1992) stance that in order to avoid 'a total mess of empirical

[44] Such 'endogeneity' concerns are addressed later in Chapter 5.

confusion and bearing in mind the demands of practice and reasonable normative commitments, one may disregard some diversities while concentrating on the more important ones'. A natural question that follows is: Which set of diversities are most relevant and significant in the context of children's education in Pakistan? To answer this question, a historical review of studies (dating back to 1984) concerning education in Pakistan in general and primary education in particular was conducted to identify important factors. Some of the studies, such as Hamid (1993) and Warwick and Reimers (1991), were directly aimed at measuring the impact of household background/socio-economic characteristics on demand for primary schooling and academic achievement. Important variables of interest, such as gender, occupation and education of household head, proximity to school, household possessions (e.g. TV, radio etc.), were all incorporated in the survey design. More recent studies in education (e.g. Malik, 2014; Bhatti, Malik and Naveed, 2011) as well as national secondary data sources, such as the GoP (2013), were also consulted to further inform the choice of variables and layout of the survey. In accounting for personal, family and household characteristics, broader studies on the measurement and assessment of children's cognitive and non-cognitive skills were also reviewed (e.g. Cornwell, Mustard and Parys, 2011). Where needed, questions were amended to suit current research requirements.

Section 1 of the survey included basic household details, such as exact household location, contact number, religion and language. *Section 2* comprised a detailed household roster seeking particulars of all members, like age, marital status, level of education, type of schooling, occupation etc. Where multiple families resided under the same roof, the household unit was defined by all members who fed/ate from the same source. *Section 3* concerned ownership of property and facilities available (e.g. electricity, number of bedrooms/bathrooms), key household items and household expenditure. While other indicators of socio-economic status exist, consumption-based methods, such as the one employed, provide a more stable variable than income and are less prone to revelation bias (Malik, 2014). *Sections 4*, *5* and *6* included aspects of children's development, such as health, past education and personality characteristics potentially relevant to their level of educational capabilities. The latter was important because parental perceptions regarding children's abilities can determine decisions regarding school choice and learning, for example, a poor household facing economic tradeoffs may decide to send the 'most intelligent' child to school (or a 'good' school) while employing the rest in income generating activities or household chores. In an ideal world, longitudinal data on children's personality characteristics and

educational capabilities would have provided a fairer idea of the correlation between the two. However, given the dearth of such data on children's attributes and the constraints of the current study, several cross-sectional questions concerning such aspects seemed a reasonable practical compromise. *Section 7* of the survey sought information on children's daily routines, while the last section, *Section 8*, delved deeper into children's interaction with their parents, household members and the community at large. Parental interaction and attitudes, in particular, are important as they potentially affect an individual's ability to translate capabilities into functionings (Biggeri, 2007). Autonomy-supportive attitudes, for instance, allow children greater freedom in the learning process, which may in turn positively impact the development of their intellectual capacities. Finally, in an effort to ensure that all important variables had been adequately addressed in the questionnaire and HH Survey, Appendix 3D proved useful in providing a summarized overview. Where some measures seemed to be weak indicators, two comments by Comim (2009, p.261-7) made a compelling case for their inclusion nonetheless. Firstly, difficulty in measuring certain elements must not lead to them being ignored, rather quite the opposite. Secondly, most capability measures included in the questionnaire are part of a 'general description of the state of children', very different from summary measures that try to capture all effects of certain actions or activities at the same time. It is precisely this feature of capability indicators that captures the essence of the approach in broadening informational spaces. A final remark concerns the worth of such measures in developing country contexts like Pakistan for which data on even conventional indicators is not readily available or accurate. While the effort to introduce a capabilities perspective on education evaluation under such circumstances may be challenging, it is, nonetheless, as argued throughout the study, undertaken with a meaningful purpose and therefore a step in the right direction for the development of promising educational indicators.

Quantitative Phase

The final (quantitative) fieldwork phase comprising implementation of the capabilities questionnaire and household survey was conducted in Lahore over two periods: March-June 2015 and November 2015. The former phase comprised public and low-cost private schools with academic years commencing in April. Elite private schools beginning term in September were covered during the following period. Such a division ensured a 'level-playing field' for participating children by allowing them one full term in their new class (Grade 5) at the time

of research. Since the earlier phase included most schools in the sample, assistance from four field workers (two male and two female) was sought to complete 280 surveys (140 questionnaires and 140 HH surveys) across 19 schools. All four assistants, Ghulam Abbas (lead), Ahsan, Fakhra and Saima, were educated to an undergraduate or postgraduate level and held several years' field experience of working on national and international projects in areas like education, health, poverty, food security, disaster risk reduction etc. Having embarked on most of these together, they were able to work and manage their team in the field more efficiently. The researcher and field assistants directly administered the questionnaire to children to reduce the possibility of bias in responses.

Normally, the quantitative sample in an exploratory research design is larger than the initial qualitative phase as the former is intended to generalize results to a larger population. Considering the time and resource constraints, the intended sample size for the current study's quantitative data collection was 250. While the actual sample size, however, was 177 owing to sampling and other delays highlighted in 3.2.2a and private schools' reluctance to participate, as explained below, it was still greater than the recommended minimum acceptable sample size for similar quantitative studies (82 participants, as suggested by Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007).

Private schools' willingness to participate was a pressing concern. Field experiences and informal conversations with teachers, Principals and some educationists led to three main reasons for private schools' reluctance to participate in the research study. Firstly, given the general dearth of a research culture in Pakistan, the immediate response to any external study is often negative. In a private school's cost-benefit analysis, the benefits of external research (e.g. acknowledgement in a doctoral thesis) are far less than the costs, that is, the inconvenience of arranging meetings with children, allowing access to parents, being concerned that the research findings may report a poor image of the school etc. Secondly, a strong competitive streak between private schools makes them conscious of other schools' consent to participate before reaching a decision themselves. It seemed that certain school administrations would have consented had other renowned school networks also been part of the study sample, being the 'only ones', on the other hand, was concerning for potential participants. Finally, and most importantly, the greatest difficulty in winning elitist private schools' approval for research resulted from protests staged against private schools' allegedly exploitative fee structures by aggrieved parents in metropolitan cities like Lahore, Karachi

and Islamabad just weeks before the scheduled fieldwork in November 2015. Resulting in a provincial government order prohibiting private schools from increasing fees without prior approval from the government, the matter led concerned schools to go to court seeking a stay order against it. Given the tense climate, private schools' reluctance in allowing access to children and/or parents was not surprising. However, their unwillingness to accept this concern and confusion in ultimately reaching the decision to refuse caused delay and humiliation. The refusals often came after several rounds of meetings with staff (involving long hours of waiting) or delayed communication via phone or email, tying up precious time which could otherwise have been used to seek permission from other schools. Fortunately, one popular elitist private school network appreciated the study's research efforts and responded in the affirmative, albeit with conditions[45]. Potential bias in this situation was reduced by the researcher's continued presence on the school premises throughout the duration of the administration of the questionnaire. In addition, she took an occasional peep into the classroom where participating children were seated. This ensured that the questionnaires were filled in by the children themselves and there was minimal influence from outside (e.g. by teachers) in providing 'favourable' responses. Data collected from the questionnaires and HH surveys were entered into Excel and manual checks were performed before, during and after entry to ensure accuracy. The next chapter, Chapter 4, reports the qualitative findings from the first phase of fieldwork, while Chapter 5 provides quantitative data analysis.

Research Ethics and Researcher's Positionality

Being born and raised in Pakistan, the researcher was well-aware of the social and cultural norms that needed to be observed in the field. This included subtle details like meet-and-greet protocols and appropriate ways of addressing individuals, like government officers, School Heads, teachers and parents. Special attention was given to these in light of the researcher's positionality as a young, single and independent female studying abroad, elements that might have been potentially unsettling for more conservative or traditional-minded participants. However, many of these turned out to be in the researcher's favour. For instance, School Heads, teachers, and parents themselves were sometimes educated to a postgraduate level with a research degree like an MPhil and identified and sympathized with the researcher's

[45] Access to parents was denied, thus resulting in failure to collect corresponding household information. Additionally, direct contact with children was not allowed and school teachers implemented the questionnaire on the researcher's behalf, handing over the completed forms when done.

agenda. Similarly, the researcher's age and gender allowed parents relative comfort and ease to talk about education, especially when most teachers in primary schools were also young females. This meant that they felt unthreatened when it came to sharing their views and opinions with her. In fact, mothers would often request the researcher to spare a few minutes after the focus group to share her experiences of studying abroad, aspiring to the same for their own children. Lastly, belonging to Lahore District, that is, the chosen field site additionally positioned the researcher favourably in terms of building relationships of trust and understanding with participating schools and respondents.

Both qualitative and quantitative fieldwork and analysis for the research ensured compliance with the 2011 BERA ethical guidelines for educational research alongside local protocols and procedures. Permission to conduct research in private and religious schools was obtained after formally approaching School Heads (in the case of single-branch schools) and relevant authorities at head offices (in the case of branched school networks). Most schools required written requests and often responded with an invitation to meet the Principal/School Head to further discuss the possibility of research. Where head offices needed to communicate the same to individual school Principals, the process became time-consuming and caused delays. Access to public schools required prior approval from the local Education Office[46]. In fact, for the qualitative fieldwork phase, the Deputy District Education Officer (DDEO) offered assistance by accompanying the researcher during initial visits to the chosen schools and explaining the study's research goals to their respective School Heads. This resulted in greater accessibility for the researcher to conduct research with participants in at least three ways: i) physically locating the schools; ii) being introduced to, and establishing trust with, School Heads and other staff; and iii) being facilitated on the actual day of the focus groups. Administrative difficulties during subsequent visits were thus rare. For the quantitative fieldwork phase, an official permission letter from the District Education Officer was obtained and presented before school authorities.

Participation by all children and parents during both fieldwork phases was informed and voluntary so that they understood beforehand the purpose of the research and the relevance of their responses. For focus group respondents, their consent was recorded in the voice

[46] Government schools are administered at the district level and a District Education Officer (DEO) per district provides the main administrative link to the provincial government. The DEO is assisted by two or more deputy education officers (Habib, 2013).

recordings at the beginning of each group discussion. Participants were also made aware of their right to withdraw from the research at any point. Lastly, anonymity, confidentiality and data security were ensured for all participating schools, children and parents as their original names remained undisclosed and information and data were not shared with anyone else: the only individual with access to them was the researcher herself.

Conclusion

Addressing the broader issue of capability measurement, the current chapter has clarified several methodological issues in applying the CA to educational issues in Pakistan. It has demonstrated, for instance, how concepts like internal and combined capabilities and partial rankings within the Approach may aid the specification and evaluation of educational capabilities in the country's context. Moreover, adopting Comim's (2008) articulation of measurement, it has resolved several challenges in operationalizing the CA and justified the choice of a sequential, mixed- methods research design to meet the current study's objectives. Qualitatively, the study relied on focus groups with school-going children and their parents to yield information about the former's individual and collective schooling experiences and valued educational capabilities. Quantitatively, the study employed a capabilities questionnaire and household survey to objectively measure children's educational capabilities and the mediating role of family and household characteristics. The chapter has additionally discussed practical procedures and challenges in implementing the chosen research methods in Lahore, the selected site of fieldwork, in Pakistan. Next, Chapters 4 and 5 discuss the empirical findings following the qualitative and quantitative fieldwork phases.

Chapter 4: Reflections on Qualitative Data

Introduction

This chapter reports and reflects on qualitative findings from focus groups conducted with children and parents across public, private and private religious schools in Lahore. The findings are discussed in light of existing contextual literature on education in Pakistan. While the benefits of qualitative or democratic research methods to educational contexts involving the CA have already been discussed in Chapter 3, the findings reported here lend voice to young children's perceptions about valued educational capabilities in Pakistan and demonstrate the potential of bottom-up or participatory approaches in incorporating their thoughtful opinions in future developmental debates on education in the country. Additionally, focus groups conducted with parents address generational aspects of children's capabilities as the latter are likely to be affected by parents' own perceptions, opportunities and achievements. Together, both sets of valuations lay the foundation for the research objective at hand, namely, qualitative and quantitative comparisons of educational capabilities across different types of schools in Pakistan.

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section 4.1 discusses participant responses to the primary question in focus groups concerning valued educational capabilities. The analysis in this section is distinguishable by groups of respondents, that is, children versus parents, categories of schools, that is, public versus private and private religious, and roles of education i.e. intrinsic versus instrumental. The discussion on instrumental roles also entails analysis by broad capability categories listed in Chapters 2 and 3 such as Practical Reason, Learning Disposition, Religion etc. As described earlier, these were consolidated to arrive at a final list of contextualized educational capabilities for further quantitative analysis. The other section, 4.2, summarizes the remaining discussion that took place during focus groups and touches upon important themes such as institutional factors and the role of families in education provision that emerged from participant comparisons between various types of schools in Pakistan.

4.1 Valued Capabilities in Education

The Capability Approach ascribes importance to both the intrinsic and instrumental roles of education unlike, for instance, human-capital or human-rights based frameworks (Robeyns, 2006). This aspect provided a useful starting point for analysing qualitative findings as

participant valuations were firstly separated by intrinsic and instrumental motivations and, subsequently, compared on the basis of particular categories of individuals and schools.

4.1.1 Intrinsic Value

Focus group discussions revealed two key observations regarding the intrinsic value of education. Firstly, both children and parents placed *less* emphasis on the intrinsic relevance of education than on its instrumentality in achieving other valued functionings. This may be attributed partly to the nature of inquiry which prompted participants to reveal *what* they valued education for rather than *why* they valued education, and partly to the nature of education itself, which typically manifests itself as an enabler of other opportunities and achievements in life[47]. Secondly, it was noted that children and parents in public schools were, nonetheless, able to articulate why education was intrinsically valuable and acknowledged it *more* than their counterparts from other schools:

> *Education is our adornment…When we have other things like jewellery etc., people can take it from us but education is one thing nobody can snatch from us.*
>
> *(Female student, Public School 1)*

The above remarks indicate the intrinsic importance of education not only through comparisons with valuable possessions, like wealth and jewellery, but also the permanency of its ownership. Thus the fact that once gained, education is a possession forever makes its pursuit important in its own right. Children also demonstrated awareness of 'irreversibility' in the capability to be educated as described in Chapter 2; as one student put it, education could 'only happen once in everyone's life'. However, the extent to which such remarks reflect children's independent thoughts and not world views internalized through home and school environments (e.g. parents' teachings at home, stories taught in class etc.) is debatable. In fact, similar comments by parents in public schools indicate the possibility of a home effect through an important intergenerational dynamic, it appears that when deprived of their right to it, parents are more likely to realize the intrinsic value of education and consequently emphasize the same to their children:

[47] It may be useful to recall here that the purpose of the focus groups or data collection exercise was not to assess whether education was considered intrinsically valuable by participants, but to obtain information on *what* they valued education for, or valued educational capabilities. These were defined in Section 3.1.2 as the things education helps children be and do, *and* are considered valuable by participants. Thus, insofar as the latter includes possessing something intrinsically valuable like education, it is reflected in the responses provided and analysed in 4.1.1.

The best thing about education is that no one can take it away from us. If we have education, we have everything. Tomorrow, when our children will grow up, people will ask them what their parents taught them. Because you know we have only done Matric[48], we have found out only now how important education is and to study and progress.

(Mother, Public School 1)

This additionally hints at how low parental education may be characteristic of public school students more than of others, thus explaining potential differences in the acknowledgement of the intrinsic relevance of education across school categories. Subsequent (quantitative) data analysis lends support to this claim by revealing that for a majority of public school children, parental education equalled zero years of schooling and that the proportion of parents educated at primary level or less was significantly higher for public school students than their low-cost private and private religious school counterparts with higher parental educational attainment[49]. At a broader level, recent contextual evidence also shows how parental education has little impact on parental demand for children's education in Pakistan. Findings from the LEAPS study, for instance, demonstrate a strong preference among parents for sending their children to school and negate the traditional view, particularly in rural Pakistan, which imagines lack of demand for education from poor and/or uneducated parents (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2010).

4.1.2 Instrumental Roles

As mentioned earlier, participant responses regarding valued educational capabilities mostly comprised the instrumental roles of education, potentially offering greater variation by categories of individuals and school types. Thus a structure of analysis was imperative in drawing comparisons between them. Chapter 3 described the process of arriving at a list of contextualized capabilities by considering participant valuations that were identified by (i) at least one individual spontaneously, and (ii) multiple participants in a focus group. Tables 4.1a and 4.1b show how such valuations were aggregated for participants across each school included in the sample. They depict children's and parents' most valued (economic and non-

[48] Matric (abbreviated) or Matriculation is the equivalent of Grade 9 and 10 in the local education system. A popular alternative to Matric among affording classes is the Cambridge Ordinary (O) Level qualification, arguably furthering socio-economic divide.

[49] It is important to remind the reader at this stage that the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 are only representative of participating schools and individuals and not decisive evidence at a generalized level.

Table 4.1a Children's Valued Instrumental Roles of Education by School Type

Valuations	Public Schools (Pu)				Private Schools (P)				Religious Schools (R)			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Having a career/ future	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Doing something for others	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		
Values and etiquettes[50]/ becoming a good human being	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	✓
Knowledge about new things	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
Learning English	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		
Knowledge about religion/ the right path		✓				✓				✓	✓	✓
Caring for others/ Positive relationships	✓		✓	✓					✓			
Empowerment and respect	✓	✓	✓						✓			
Ability to think					✓							

Public School 1 = Federal govt.
Public School 2 = Provincial govt.
Public School 3 = Provincial govt.
Public School 4 = Provincial govt.

Private School 1 = Elitist private
Private School 2 = Low cost private
Private School 3 = Low cost private
Private School 4 = Elitist private

Religious School 1 = Private religious
Religious School 2 = Private religious
Religious School 3 = Male Madrassa
Religious School 4 = Female Madrassa

economic) instrumental roles of education in each of the schools visited as well as by overall school type. For instance, the first row in Table 4.1a shows that having a career or future was identified as a valued educational capability by multiple children (and by at least one child spontaneously) in 10 out of the 12 schools included in the sample, that is, all public, private and private religious schools but not Madrassas. In an effort to combine the two tables and draw a clearer comparison, Table 4.2 lists in parallel children's and parents' most valued instrumental roles of education in descending order of popularity. It also allows comparison by type of school, for instance, whether a particular valuation was made by participants across all or different combinations of different types of school, as well as by intensity or percentage proportion of schools where a particular valuation was made for example

[50] The plural 'etiquettes' is employed by participants in a similar spirit as the singular 'etiquette'. However, the former is used to refer to good manners or acceptable behaviour in general rather than a specific set of rules or customs defining social behavior.

Table 4.1b Parents' Valued Instrumental Roles of Education by School Type

Valuations	Public Schools				Private Schools				Religious Schools			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4*	1*	2	3*	4*
Grooming[51]/ Values and etiquettes	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓		
Confidence/Personality	✓				✓	✓				✓		
Ability to judge and form opinions	✓				✓					✓		
Learning English			✓	✓		✓						
Learning computers	✓	✓		✓								
Being interested to learn new things/ inquisitive		✓				✓						
Conceptual learning		✓					✓					
Developing habit for reading					✓	✓						
Being creative					✓	✓						
Knowledge about religion						✓				✓		

*As mentioned in Chapter 3, focus groups with parents in these schools did not materialize due to time and logistical constraints.

learning values and etiquettes was considered valuable by students across eight of the 12 or 67 per cent sampled schools. Similarly, the ability to learn English was considered valuable by parents in three of the eight or approximately 38 per cent of the total schools.

In this way, Table 4.2 allows a multi-way analysis of valued instrumental roles of education with the following observations inviting attention:

- On average, children have more homogenous valuations across school types than parents, that is, children across different types of school feel similarly or agree more about what education ought to help them be and do than parents.
- There are three valuations common to both children and parents, also ranked in similar order of importance: values and etiquettes, ability to learn English and knowledge about religion. Of these, the ability to learn values and etiquettes ranks highly in both participant groups, and is the only commonly identified valued instrumental role of

[51] The word 'grooming' is used by participants in the local context to refer to a child's conduct, that is, general adoption of (good) values and behaviour towards others.

Table 4.2 Valued Instrumental Roles of Education by Individuals and School Type

School type (s)	Children		Parents	
Valuations		**% of schools**	**Valuations**	**% of schools**
All (Pu.P.R)*	Career/future	83	Values and etiquettes	88
	Values and etiquettes	67	Personality/confidence	50
	Ability to do things for others	67	Ability to judge and form opinions	38
	Knowledge about new things	58		
	Ability to learn English	42		
	Knowledge about religion	42		
Pu.P			Ability to learn English	38
			Inquisitiveness	25
			Conceptual understanding	25
Pu			Learning computers	38
Pu.R	Positive relationships	33		
	Empowerment/respect	33		
R.P			Knowledge about religion	25
P	Ability to think	8	Reading	25
			Creativity	25

* Pu= Public P= Private R= (Private) religious

education across categories of respondents as well as schools.

- The most valued roles by parents across all school types include both cognitive and non-cognitive aspects, for example, judgment and reasoning as well as personality and etiquettes.
- Academic aspects of education, like inquisitiveness, strong conceptual understanding and the ability to learn English, are valued by parents in some of the public and private schools, but not religious schools[52].
- Other educational aspects, such as the ability to think, read and be creative, are mentioned by children and parent participants in private schools alone.

[52] It may be kept in mind, however, that parents from not all sampled religious schools could be interviewed.

- The social aspect of education, namely, respect and empowerment, as well the ability to form positive relationships with peers, friends, teachers etc. is valued by children in public and religious schools, but not in private ones.

The rest of section 4.1 discusses participants' valuations and the above findings by categories of capabilities listed in Chapters 2 and 3. Literature reviewed thus far suggests no prior study on education in Pakistan has undertaken an exercise exploring differences between children's and parents' educational valuations across school types in this manner. The contextualized capabilities are discussed in no particular order and, whenever possible, children's and parents' views are combined to avoid repetition.

4.1.2a Practical Reason

Nussbaum (2011, p.34) defines practical reason as the ability to form a conception of the good and engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life. Of the lists in Table 4.2, the above definition appeals to valuations like judging and forming opinions and the ability to have a career/future. It is immediately noticeable that the former aspect, that is, judgment and conception of the good is more popular with parents, whereas the latter aspect, that is, reflection and planning one's own life is more popular with children. In fact, being able to pursue a career or secure one's future is the most valued instrumental role of education among children. It is also interesting to observe that this difference holds true for participants across all school types.

There are at least two issues at hand when considering differences in children's capabilities for practical reason. Firstly, practical reason involves not only the ability to make life choices, but also the information available to make choices (Walker, 2007)[53]. In this regard, children at Madrassas provided a clear contrast to the rest in considering their lack of worldly knowledge and taught disciplines to be an impediment to securing a different future. One student at a Madrassa, for instance, described how he felt *destined* to become a *Maulvi* or a religious tutor as he had little knowledge of anything else. As the following analysis suggests, this feature potentially reduces capabilities for practical reason for children attending a Madrassa.

[53] At this stage, it may be useful to refer to the dimensions and capabilities listed in Table 2.1 (Chapter 2).

Secondly, children's decisions regarding life choices are at least partially affected by autonomy-facilitating or autonomy-restricting environments at home and school (Biggeri, 2007; Brighouse, 2000). The following quotes reveal how differences in such environments – or contentions between children's life choices and parental aspirations – seemed less palpable across school types:

> *[I enjoy psychology] but my mom and my brother and my dad all say that psychology is like a second choice; if you can't do anything, you do psychology."*
>
> *(Female student, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

> *First of all, there should be a relation between parents and children. It should not be that parents have another plan and children want to do something else. Parents should first sit with their child and ask him what he wants to become, his problems, his needs…parents should completely understand and address them…Not like the child isn't inclined towards a Madrassa, isn't fond of doing Hifz (memorizing the Quran) or if he has the desire but doesn't have the mind and parents still make him do that. It will just waste 5-6 years…they will be wasted, right? Because it isn't what he had desired to do in the first place.*
>
> *(Male student, Madrassa)*

Given that aspirations are shaped by both available information and autonomy in this manner, children at Madrassas seem doubly disadvantaged. This is because they lack both the relevant information or knowledge to make life choices, hindering critical reflection, as well as the autonomy in planning for one's own life, accepting forced parental decisions. This becomes evidenced in the fact that when asked about valued educational capabilities, children in Madrassas were the only ones unable to mention becoming someone or securing a future/career as a valued instrumental role of education (see Table 4.1a).

Broadly, the nature of children's aspirations ranged from being individualistic, such as becoming someone or settling abroad, to being more socially driven, for example, doing things for others, bringing a good name to one's family and country and spreading the light of education. It was observed that the latter were most commonly mentioned by public school respondents, possibly hinting at a greater sense of responsibility and fraternity in terms of social ties. As observable in Table 4.1a, this may correlate with the fact that children in

public schools were also more conscious of the role of education in shaping good human beings as well as forming positive relationships with others. Children's aspirations also differed by gender and choice of profession across school types. It was intriguing to note that children at elitist private schools, girls and boys alike, aspired to studying for novel degrees and taking up professions such as genetic engineering, neurology and psychology, whereas children in public schools resorted to conventional ideals: being a doctor, teacher or engineer. Furthermore, girls aspired to stereotypical roles of teachers and doctors, whereas boys desired to pursue a career in science and engineering or the army. In her study on education and girls' and women's capabilities in Bangladesh, Raynor (2007, p.167) describes how most participants mentioned they either wished to be a doctor or teacher on completion of their studies. She discusses how the two professions are considered natural extensions of women's 'caring roles' in the country's social-cultural context which is in many ways similar to Pakistan's. In this way, girls are said to have a limited set of options from which to make choices. Aspirations thus, as in this case, can be indicative of unequal power relations that constrain individuals to mould themselves in ways that suit perceived expectations of normalcy and acceptability (Hart, 2016).

Parental responses, on the other hand, aligned more closely with the other aspect of practical reason, that is, the ability to form a conception of the good by emphasizing children's ability to tell right from wrong or good from bad and ability to form and express their own opinions:

> *When students or children speak up, I want my child to have her point of view, like I want her to share whatever she has learnt from school, from her reading of books, from watching TV even, from interacting with friends, all together…like a firm opinion…[what] this school has developed is that my children have their own opinion. I cannot impose my saying on them. Whatever I am saying, they do value that as well but they have their own opinion and they would stand up for what they think is right.*
>
> *(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

> *For me, the biggest thing is telling right from wrong. Education should enable my child to face the challenges in this world with strength.*
>
> *(Mother, (Private) Religious School 2)*

One possible factor explaining parental emphasis on capabilities concerning judgment and opinion formation may be the age of sampled children, while, on one hand, desiring and encouraging such capability formation in children from a young age is only natural, on the other, there is little reason or urgency at the same time to become concerned with future aspects like careers and employment for children as young as Grade 5. Nonetheless, the above remarks suggest the importance of several factors concerning children's combined capabilities such as the willingness and opportunities afforded by others at school to listen to children's opinions, the ability of schools to teach what is right and wrong and so on. These are appropriately addressed by the capabilities questionnaire and become the subject of detailed enquiry in the next chapter.

4.1.2b Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought

As a process of formal education, Walker (2004, p.7) describes the main function of schooling to be the transmittance of knowledge, skills and values and attitudes. For capabilities concerning Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought, focus groups revealed children's and parents' mention of content and process issues in the transmission of four key elements: i) knowledge, ii) thinking, iii) language and iv) reading skills, differences in which by individuals and school type are described below.

(i) While the capability to obtain knowledge was valued by children across school types, it was often employed as an all-encompassing term ('knowledge about everything', 'all sorts of knowledge', 'general knowledge' or 'good knowledge'). Two exceptions to this were Madrassa students' emphasis on learning disciplines and gaining knowledge about worldly matters other than religion, and public school parents' emphasis on learning Computer Studies (in addition to English) given its relevance to modern day and prevalence in private schools. More than content, however, parents in public and low cost private schools concerned themselves with learning processes explaining how conceptual understanding was a crucial but often missing element in children's learning:

> *Teachers should bear this thing in their mind that they have to explain things to children, get their concepts clear…When they have delivered their lecture, they should ask students just any question out of it to be sure whether children understood the concept. Children should not think: 'Okay, we've done this in class. Now we have*

to go home and rote learn it, regurgitate it in our homework and our work is done!'

(Mother, Public School 2)

The above remarks distinguish between learning as an achievement or acquisition of factual knowledge (demonstrable through accomplished grades, completed homework etc.) and learning as a process, requiring thinking and conceptual clarity. Reliance on rote learning in Pakistan's educational context is already well-documented in education policy and scholarship and research (e.g. MoE, 2009; Malik 2014; Lall, 2012 etc.), and the next chapter indicates how a capabilities perspective questions its influence in teaching-learning practices. From a policy perspective, however, it is important to acknowledge the far-reaching consequences of rote learning – beyond teaching-learning practices – on methods of educational assessment and as well as education quality at all levels.

(ii) The above discussion also relates, in part, to Nussbaum's (2011, p.33) capability of Senses, Imagination and Thought, the ability to use the senses, to imagine, to think and reason in a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education. In this regard, the lack of creativity or activity-based learning in Pakistani schools pointed out by private school parents became even more relevant:

[Abroad], they basically have activity based learning. In our system, like you know, we promote a lot of rote learning. Children cannot really see what they are gaining from it. There is no 'applied' system. Activity based learning is applied learning.

(Mother, (Low cost) Private School 3)

Parents in private schools believed creative activities enhanced children's problem-solving skills, helped them discover new ideas and pushed their imaginative capacities. Creative writing, in particular, was thought to promote independent thinking in children and lend them confidence to express themselves. One parent mentioned how creative experiences were also important to crafting a 'beautiful childhood', adding essence to a child's overall learning experience beyond mere reading and writing. Additionally, parents in elitist private schools explained how they felt their children were also motivated to do creative things and consequently experienced 'far more effective learning' than the ordinary. This may partly explain why parents in elitist private schools did not mention conceptual understanding as a separate valued capability and also why, not surprisingly, the only group of children able to

identify the ability to think as a valued capability was elitist private school children themselves. At the same time, it was interesting to observe lack of concern regarding comprehension or creativity among religious school participants. In fact, when prompted, a parent at a private religious school remarked:

> *Creativity? I don't know how you define it. For me, creativity is having arts at school, making charts. That is it, what else! But I think sometimes these activities can increase workload.*
>
> *(Mother, (Private) Religious School 2)*

It is important to consider parental perceptions regarding trade-offs between creative activities and academic workload highlighted in the above remark. As the section on Play (below) indicates, they can prove crucial in shaping children's world view of creative or playful activities as distractions or something 'opposite' to education and, consequently, not worth their time.

(iii) The capability to receive English-medium education was broadly valued among children participants across all three categories of schools, with the exception of children at elitist private schools and Madrassas. For children at elitist private schools, this lack of identification may be explained by the inseparability of English-medium and elite private education provision. Thus, for such children, learning English may be a given not requiring special mention. For children in Madrassas, on the other hand, lack of exposure to, or even the possibility of, learning English as part of a formal curriculum may offer a possible explanation. Among the remaining children, learning, speaking and conversing in the language was considered important partly in its own right and partly due to the premium attached to it due to association with private education. Children in public schools particularly seemed impressed with their private counterparts' proficiency in the language, while private school students associated poor fluency with public school students[54].

As far as parental valuations are concerned, parents in elitist private schools, like their children, did not mention separately the capability to learn English, possibly for similar

[54] It is worthwhile to recall the historical context provided in Chapter 1 at this stage. It helps explain participants' fascination with the English language and, in the case of public school participants, the desire to eliminate differences between public and private education provision.

reasons. On the other hand, parents in public and low-cost private schools associated high value with the ability to learn and speak English, arguing that it promoted children's self-confidence and ability to compete with counterparts from elitist private schools. That said, parental opinions remained divided on the effectiveness of the recent introduction of English-medium education in public schools by the provincial government in improving children's quality of English and removing the differential between public and private school students. On one hand, the mere adoption of an English-medium label pacified parents with its promise of the possibility of lesser discrimination:

> *Of course, we're not up for any new sort of education, are we? Now look, they have switched everything to English, what else can we ask for? The thing we used to long for in private education, we have now got it in government education.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 2)*

On the other, parents explained how the move made little or no difference to the classroom reality and consequently students' quality of English:

> *I would like to mention that there is a difference in the standard of English in these and private schools e.g. if you look at Beaconhouse, Choueifat (elitist private schools), children in public schools cannot compete with that standard. There should be some equalization here and a policy for the quality of English too, so that these children can equip themselves for a better education and future.*
>
> *(Father, Public School 1)*

Thus, while the adoption of English-medium education in public schools may be a welcome initiative, it lacks effectiveness in eliminating inequality between children at public and private schools. What concerned some public school parents regarding the switch to English-medium education was: i) children's *real* opportunity to learn and converse in English, given that Urdu remained teachers' primary language in the classroom and ii) the adoption of English-based textbooks, which placed parents at a communicative disadvantage in teaching their children:

> *Our generation was raised teaching and reading Urdu. We are more comfortable with that language but our children are now learning English. It is a very good thing,*

they are doing things we did not do, but you know it is hard to teach them this way.

(Mother, Public School 3)

As indicated in the final discussion, the above remarks show how education policy tends to ignore the importance of certain contextual or circumstantial factors in mediating children's educational capabilities. Like Shamim (2011) argues, the terms 'Urdu-medium' and 'English-medium' in Pakistan are more than just the medium of instruction through which an individual has been taught, implying individuals' economic and sociocultural circumstances.

(iv) The final dimension for Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought concerns books and reading capabilities. The importance of books not only accrues from content but also the fact that they mediate children's learning *processes* and ability to acquire knowledge through reading and writing activities:

In addition to religious education, there used to be other books there [previous school]. They used to teach us how to draw, do other things. I miss the same books.

(Female student, Madrassa)

Reading capabilities, however, were only emphasized by elitist private and low-cost private school parents who expressed concern about an overall lack of encouragement for reading at schools and children's dwindling interest in the same. At the same time, they acknowledged shared responsibility for promoting a reading culture among children, and described *real* educational achievement as learning by reading rather than achieving high grades:

I think we need to make book banks. We need to create spaces where all of us can go exchange our books, create a book bank. And I don't even ask him [son] what grades he gets. If he tells me fine, otherwise I never even ask.

(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)

They say the best learners are those who are the best readers. I think education should encourage children to become friends with books. They should have a friendship with them. I have never cared about marks...I don't believe in marks and especially at this age? No! Learning is more important.

(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)

Compared to other schools, private schools were also more likely to offer functional school libraries with a range of books. In fact, one focus group at an elitist private school was conducted in the school library itself equipped with a diverse and updated range of books, quality furniture and computers.

4.1.2c Learning Disposition

Learning disposition refers to children's curiosity and desire for learning as well as confidence in their ability to learn (Maguire et al., 2012). This capability was partly valued by a handful of parents in public and low-cost private schools, albeit with conflicting opinions regarding the onus for developing attitudes towards learning[55]. Such difference of opinion merits further exploration as it potentially indicates the importance of parental characteristics and market factors in expectations regarding children's learning. At the same time, it is important to consider why parents across these two types of schools alone valued learning disposition. One possible factor influencing parental valuations may be low educational attainment among public and low-cost private school parents. Section 4.1.1 already indicated how low parental education among public school parents is likely to increase the intrinsic value of education in their own and their children's eyes, consequently raising their expectations of children regarding learning. Evidence from low-cost private school parents lends support to this claim explaining why, in addition to desiring education for their children, some parents expect them to be self-motivated to gain knowledge:

> *For me, it is just that I want my daughter to be educated. Like I said, I am not educated myself. In our family, no one is…We're poor, we don't even have our own house, but I really want my child to have an education.*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

Regarding the difference of opinion on the responsibility for learning, it was observed that most public school parents considered children's own inclination to study to be the primary determinant of school performance and argued against the blame on quality of schooling when children failed to perform well. Alongside lack of willingness to study, they identified lack of overall interest in class and inquisitiveness to learn about new things as children's key

[55] As indicated in Tables 4.1a and 4.2, children's responses did not include a mention of learning disposition. This may possibly be related to their little or no mention of the intrinsic importance of education, as described in the beginning of section 4.1.

learning issues. Low-cost private school parents, on the other hand, considered learning dispositions to be a point of reform for schools and not children. As described above, they advocated activity-based learning to stimulate children's senses and encourage them to discover new ideas:

> *You know, children in this phase are going through a beautiful thing called childhood…it should be full of learning with fun and activity. When a child is small, you need to stimulate his senses, his listening skills, his sight, his reading. The first experience is never handwriting you know!*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

While the common concern regarding learning disposition is attributed to the desire or demand for education, difference in parental opinions may be explained by supply-side features. This is because while public school parents are unwilling to place blame on the quality of schooling, it is evident from the remarks above that low-cost private school parents are sensitized to qualitative features, such as the extent to which lectures are interesting, flexible, fun and so on. Consequently, they are likely to consider learning disposition a point of reform for schools and not children themselves.

4.1.2d Emotions

Nussbaum's (2011, p.33) definition of Emotions comprises not having one's emotional development blighted by fear or anxiety. It was surprising to note that despite their lived schooling experiences of fear and shame, children and even parents did not acknowledge freedom from fear as a valued capability in its own right[56]. Most references to capabilities concerning Emotions were thus parental responses to questions comparing school types and belonged to one or more of the following categories: i) freedom from fear in learning, for example, fear of asking questions, corporal punishment etc.; ii) active encouragement by teachers to participate in learning; and iii) being loved by teachers; the latter two being considered as ways of eliminating fear in class. One parent described fear as an impediment to learning as it discouraged children from asking questions and requesting conceptual clarifications in class:

[56] Participants did, however, share their views on corporal punishment when prompted or asked to compare different schools. Their responses are detailed in the next section on Bodily Integrity.

…Children should not fear asking questions. They come home and tell us: 'Mama, we don't understand so and so topic'. If we ask them, 'Why didn't you ask the teacher?', they say, 'The teacher scolds me when I do'. So, teachers should not have such an attitude, if a child asks them a question twice or thrice, they should explain things patiently, not scold him.

(Mother, Public School 4)

Another parent described how fear may also arise as a result of gendered notions of physicality vis-à-vis one's peers:

I made a complaint in Class 4 that the boys are so big, some even have a moustache growing! You know there are some kids who start showing signs of maturity much earlier? Innocent girls then start feeling scared of them…of their slaps. Everything happens in recess you know.

(Mother, Public School 3)

One way of eliminating fear as emphasized by parents involved active encouragement by teachers to enhance children's participation in school activities and confidence in learning. In fact, several mentioned children's trust in teachers as role models and their efforts to emulate the same in everyday life. The concern about teachers' attitudes towards children was substantiated by narrations of experiences of teachers' love and affection (or lack thereof). It was interesting to note that while public school parents complained about teachers' overall apathy and lack of *ehsaas* (translated as emotion or feeling of care) often involving physical punishments, like caning and inducing fear, elitist private school parents reminisced how, by virtue of their teachers' love and friendship, their children had found a nurturing environment and had adjusted well to studies:

I believe it is love and affection that children require the most…My son did not have that in his previous school [abroad] …you know the last school teacher he had, he was scared of her. He would not go to the class, he would say, 'Mom, I am scared of her, I will not go'... all I am saying is that children need a lot of affection. He is a very sensitive child…He lacked that affiliation with his teacher. Here he is very comfortable.

(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)

Such difference in the incidence of positive and negative experiences across school types also hints at potential differences in children's emotional capabilities in the context of school diversity, further explored in the following chapter.

4.1.2e Bodily Integrity

Broadly, the capability for bodily integrity and safety includes the ability to be protected from violence of any sort (Biggeri, 2007, p.204). In the Pakistani context, possibilities range from freedom from verbal, physical and sexual assault to safety and security arrangements at school. Given a high incidence of corporal punishment and an equally concerning but under-reported incidence of sexual violence at schools (HDRC, 2012), it was surprising that neither group of participants discussed bodily issues. However, factors like obedience and religious and cultural norms partly explain impediments to discussions on violence and abuse in the country[57]. Nonetheless, focus group discussions with both children and parents revealed the following points about children's bodily integrity at school:

(i) Corporal punishment was a feature of six out of 12 or 50 per cent of the schools surveyed. This included at least one school from each category, that is, three public schools, a private-religious school and a Madrassa.
(ii) In one of the public schools identified with the practice, children's and parents' views presented mixed evidence on physical punishments. While children narrated incidents involving such punishments, parents repeatedly emphasized lack of such occurrences at school. Both children and parents, however, responded confidently and without hesitation. Thus, whether and why children avoided mention of such incidents to parents remains unclear. Adaptation may offer one possibility, that is, repeated occurrences may have led children to accept physical punishments as the norm and not something worthy of special mention to parents.
(iii) It was observed that while participants (both children and parents) with no lived experiences of corporal punishment strongly argued against it, for example, elitist private school students, others remained divided on its legitimacy. Half the respondents favoured caning and beating, arguing that it was 'for their own good' or 'to fix their future', or simply something that 'ought to follow when children did something wrong or didn't obey the

[57] Since questions regarding the same can inhibit responses, arouse suspicions or even create anger (HDRC, 2012), prompts were also used only sparingly during interviews.

teacher': the rest attributed it to poor education and irresponsible behaviour on part of teachers:

> *Miss, the children who will not do their work, only they will get beaten, otherwise no teacher says anything.*
>
> *(Female student, Public School 1)*

(iv) When asked to compare their school with others, participants, parents and children alike, interestingly associated a higher incidence of corporal punishment with types of schooling other than their own:

> *There was a child who was hit so badly in a private school, so badly, that my heart melted. I took him to the place in our community where they deal with such things, they took action against it…They hit him so bad, you can't imagine the condition he was in.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 3).*

> *R: Do you think it (caning) happens in other schools?*
> *Everyone: Yes*
> *R: Which ones?*
> *'I think government schools'*
> *'I think other (low-cost) private schools'*
>
> *(Discussion, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

> *R: How much is it (caning) here?*
> *'Much less than government schools'*
>
> *(Male student, Madrassa)*

It must be noted, however, that the *incidence* of corporal punishment is distinguishable from the *fear of incidence* of corporal punishment. In other words, even when participants' comparative assessment of a higher incidence of corporal punishment in school types other than their own holds true, it does not guarantee lack of fear of punishment at their own school. Similarly, even when the incidence of corporal punishment is low, capabilities for Emotions and Bodily Integrity may be compromised in schools owing to greater incidence

or fear of incidence of other acts of violence, for example, physical or verbal fights with peers. These nuances are further explained below and analysed in the quantitative results reported in Chapter 5.

(v) Apart from corporal punishment, violations of Bodily Integrity included fist-fighting, bullying and ridiculing by peers as well as carrying out physical work as punishment from teachers, for example, clearing garbage and sweeping the classroom floor for being late for school[58]. These were only mentioned by public and low-cost private school participants:

> *When my children first got here, they used to cry, they used to say other children bully us, they hit us, they use bad language for us. They snatch our lunch…children say we won't take lunch because other kids take it from us.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 3)*

> *She [daughter] herself, you know, says she does not want to come to school. She says, 'Other children make fun of me, they say I am black and they are fair…Mama, I don't want to go to school'. She would sometimes even stop outside the gate and say she wants to return...*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

(vi) Despite the 2014 Peshawar school attack, parents and children did not raise safety concerns in focus group discussions[59]. Observed differences, however, revealed better vigilance and security arrangements at elitist private schools than others (e.g. multiple security guards, strict visitor checks etc.), owing to better finances and possibly greater security threat. Nonetheless, all other types of schools, that is, public, low-cost private, private religious and Madrassas also maintained gatekeepers in whatever capacity was deemed affordable.

4.1.2f Respect

Part of Nussbaum's (2011, p.34) capability for Affiliation includes "having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation, and being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others". As indicated in Table 2.1, broader definitions of respect as

[58] Field observations confirmed how children in public schools (mostly female) were often ordered chores like serving drinks to teachers and school visitors, doing dishes and sweeping the floor.
[59] One explanation for lack of mention may be tightened security anyway.

an educational capability may include other dimensions, such as self-confidence, self-esteem and imaginative empathy etc., which also overlap with emotional or non-cognitive skills. On one hand, children in public and religious schools considered education a means of social respect and empowerment as a result of reduced dependence on others:

> *If we do not seek education, we will remain dependent on others. If we seek education, people will respect us. We will not be dependent on anyone.*
>
> *(Female student, Public School 1)*

At the same time, however, differences in children's lived experiences of schooling compromised their self-esteem, dignity and recognition in several ways, distinguishable by type of school and class performance as highlighted below.

(i) *Type of school*. Parents and sometimes children themselves articulated how type of school had a significant bearing on the latter's conceptions self-worth and self-esteem. One respect in which this held true concerned qualitative differences in education provision: children displayed sensitivity to where they were sent for schooling and pointed out the importance of being able to mention 'a good school' to others:

> *Education should be good, such that when we grow up and someone asks us which school we studied at, we should be able to mention a good school.*
>
> *(Male student, (Private) Religious School 1)*

The historical narrative placing a premium on private (and perceivably better quality) schooling also became relevant in this regard:

> *Children who study in private schools get associated with a kind of superiority, while we study in public schools and are considered less. So there comes a considerable gap between private and public.*
>
> *(Female guardian, Public School 3)*

A second, but related, aspect concerned manifestations of poverty in children's everyday schooling experience, spread unevenly across types of schools. As illustrated by a public school parent, children's lack of confidence in themselves compared to private school

counterparts was also attributable to personal or circumstantial factors beyond quality of schooling, such as outward appearances of cleanliness or tidiness, poverty, way of talking etc.:

> *Children come from home well-dressed, but still when you look at them it seems like – from their appearance, from their surroundings – they're very poor. So they never gain confidence. When children study in private schools, they learn discipline, they learn how to talk well.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 3)*

Finally, Madrassa students highlighted how an institutional feature in schools – school fees – can become a determinant of children's dignity and self-respect. While the fees charged by schools may be partly linked to qualitative differences in provision discussed above, the fact that Madrassas do not levy any fees and offer free boarding was viewed as problematic by some:

> *...there should be some fees too that the Madrassas should charge. They should not be run totally on funds... Because this way, the common man sees us as having lesser value that we are being run only on charity.*
>
> *(Male student, Madrassa)*

On one hand, participants' concerns regarding school branding and school elitism are reminiscent of the deeper, historical institutionalization of the three education systems. On the other, comments about factors like poverty and school fees affecting children's respect highlight how education inequality may manifest itself in other forms, beyond school-level factors like teaching quality, teaching-learning practices, classroom environment etc. These are further discussed in Section 4.2.

(ii) *Class performance.* In the schooling context, children's respect can be compromised by inadequate attention and/or favouritism by teachers and exclusionary behaviour by class fellows. The latter has already been discussed above (see Bodily Integrity)[60]. Regarding the former, parents in public and low-cost private schools complained that teachers attended to better performing students in class, resulting in a double whammy for slow learners: in

[60] In fact, as listed in Table 2.1, Maguire et al. (2012) consider the ability to show empathy, compassion, fairness and generosity and act inclusively to be part of the educational capability of respect, dignity and recognition.

addition to lowered self-worth, it led to poorer concentration in class and the eventual need to resort to evening tuition. Interestingly, one teacher-parent at a low-cost private school also confessed her failure in providing fair attention to students, despite being in favour of treating all students fairly:

> *You know, sometimes, there are kids who do not have much learning power but are very intelligent otherwise. Even we as teachers ourselves sometimes ignore such children. In our schools, we always make the better students sit in the front and the less performing at the back, although it should be the other way round. We should allow weaker students to sit in the front so that they can be paid more attention but it is not so, we do not do it. We often have our favourites.*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 3)*

Most parents were therefore appreciative of the smaller class sizes in private schools allowing adequate individual attention to students. Teachers' attention was also considered inseparable from active encouragement and admonishment, the former promoting self-confidence and the latter potentially causing shame and lowering self-esteem:

> *…confidence is not innate in children, teachers teach them.*
> *A child cannot do anything on his own. If he gets a good environment, he starts believing he can do it…this thing naturally comes to him when teachers are [encouraging] in the class.*
>
> *(mothers, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

> *There should be some punishment that brings children to their right frame of mind…but not hitting, it makes your self-esteem go down.*
>
> *(Female student, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

Thus both adequate attention and encouragement and admonishment were addressed in the capabilities questionnaire and subsequent quantitative analysis.

4.1.2g Affiliation (Social Relations)

Part of Nussbaum's (2011, p.34) capability for Affiliation includes the ability to live with and toward others, recognize and show concern for other human beings, participate in various

forms of social interaction, and imagine the situation of others. In the educational context, these may translate into capabilities to be a friend, to participate in a group for friendship or learning etc. among others described in Table 2.1 (Terzi, 2007; Walker 2004 and 2007; Maguire et al., 2012). The first noticeable finding regarding Affiliation was that nearly all references to social relations were made by children, indicating emphasis on factors directly affecting the classroom environment and their everyday experiences at school. The second finding concerned divisibility of such references into the following capabilities: i) avoiding fights and maintaining peace with class fellows; ii) being empathetic towards, and caring for, class fellows/friends; iii) being able to form and maintain positive relationships/good friendships; and iv) being confident in interaction with others. These are explained below:

(i) Regarding avoidance of fights, some children at public schools exhibited awareness of the need to 'stay clear' and 'keep things pleasant', possibly as a result of prior experiences of violence at school:

> *Miss, as long as we don't bother anyone, nobody will say anything to us too. If we stay 'clear', if we keep things around us pleasant, people will actually appreciate the way we live and be attracted towards us.*
>
> *(Female student, Public School 1)*

While fights were a normal occurrence in most schools, the following set of responses indicates how children in *both* public and private schools associate a higher incidence of the same with private schools. Whether empirical evidence supports greater prevalence of fighting in private schools is explored in the next chapter. However, anecdotal evidence from discussions with parents and teachers in elitist private schools reveals how children's greater exposure to violence through televised media (action films, gaming etc.) may offer a possible explanation for the same. As highlighted earlier, this finding is also important from a policy perspective in highlighting that lack of corporal punishment alone may not be enough to protect children in elitist private schools from incidents of violence:

> *R: Do you think you had better friends in private schools?*
> *No teacher! There used to be fights, children used to hit each other.*
> *We met an old friend from a private school. He told us they fight a lot.*
>
> *(male students, Public School 3)*

Ma'am, in our school, their tolerance is so bad. Children start hitting and beating! I think there are two fist fights in the class every day.
And Ma'am, sometimes they give certificates for grooming. I wonder if they groom enough in class to hand out certificates for grooming?
Constantly, they punch each other in the head. I am surprised no one gets a bruise. Grooming is an unnecessary column [in marking progress]!

(male students, (Elitist) Private School 1)

(ii) If true, does a higher occurrence of fights in private schools affect children's capability to show concern and empathy towards class fellows? Although empathy did not feature in any focus group responses, general evidence did not support this claim as children in both elitist and low-cost private schools made compassionate remarks regarding other children's education and learning:

Some people have different skills, like some people do not know how to write but they give better answers orally, so I think that there should be different kinds of exams for people that can learn differently.

(Female student, (Elitist) Private School 1)

Teacher, government schools are better because they also give the poor a chance
Teacher, there are many places where there aren't any schools. There should be schools in those places.

(male and female students, (Low-cost) Private School 2)

(iii) The capability to form good friendships was distinguishable between children attending public and private schools in terms of: i) qualities sought in friends and ii) ease of forming new friendships. When asked why they claimed their friendships to be better, public school children responded:

The environment here is very good. If you ask someone to be your friend here, she will agree.

(Male student, Public School 3)

Additionally, they found their friends to be intelligent and more willing to help, for example,

in sharing or lending stationery, helping with school work, playing when asked and so on, qualities that most of them felt they missed in friends at the private school they had previously attended. In contrast, children in private schools mentioned initial difficulty in becoming friends with others, as well as aversion towards badly behaved children:

> *Ma'am, there was a boy in our class who joined and no one was friends with him for two weeks I guess. But when he started getting full marks, everyone started trying being friends with him.*
> *See, because the more educated you are and higher you get, the more attention there is from the crowd…In our class, there is a kid who acts badly and then he gets in trouble and then he gets treated badly by other kids…I believe if you get rid of him, the class will be very good!*
>
> *(male students, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

Respondents at another private school described how, apart from being academically sound, factors like use of language, tidiness and cleanliness were also important in forming friendships[61]. This character sketch contrasts with the 'warmer' friend figure desired by public school students with his or her willingness to play, lend and help, and entails qualities determined by factors presumably linked to socio-economic status and family background etc. Such differences in children's desired qualities in friends by type of schooling are worth further enquiry as those not fitting the ideal run the risk of being socially excluded. Children across both school types, however, value the capability to have good friends at school and ease in becoming friends with them.

(iv) A final comment for this section includes parental responses regarding children's confidence. As shown in Table 4.2, parents across all types of schools, public, elitist private, low-cost private and private religious, emphasized the value of personality development in children, including self-confidence and confidence in interacting with others:

> *I think the most important thing in education is personality development.*
>
> *(Mother, (Private) Religious School 2)*

[61] It is interesting to recall the discussion on the different manifestations of poverty and resulting inferiority associated with children's appearances from the previous section on Respect.

You know in a child's development, personality is very important. For me, the most important thing is that… a child should be well-groomed, should have confidence in himself.

(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)

While children's confidence is partly influenced by teachers' and peers' attitudes and social relations as highlighted above, the following section details how parents most often associated the trait with sports and extracurricular activities at school.

4.1.2h Play

While the greatest number of references in focus groups related to play, it was interesting to note that no participant, student or parent, mentioned play and sport as valuable in its own right. This meant that in nearly all instances, children and parents were prompted for their views on the subject. Most often, the value associated with play stemmed from two sources: i) comparisons with other schools, particularly by children who had previously attended a different school and ii) maturation of other capabilities, such as confidence (by participating in play), health (by 'moving around' and indulging in some form of physical activity) and attentiveness in class (by letting play 'open and sharpen' the mind and improve learning) etc.

(i) It was observed that participants in all three types of schools, public, private and religious, associated greater provision of play opportunities, for example, swings, games periods, extracurricular activities, educational trips etc. with private schools:

Miss, there used to be games there [previous private school]. Miss, we used to have color day, apple day, umbrella day there! Miss, it had everything…which we don't have here. Miss, we also used to have swings there, slides, see-saw…

(Female student, Public School 1)

A common complaint by public and private school parents involved the dearth of adequate physical spaces for sports, like large grounds, particularly given the recent mushrooming of private schools in residential buildings affording no space for outdoor activities. Where facilities were available, parents emphasized the need for arranging summer and sports camps for popular games:

Schools should have good buildings, vast grounds to play. Now, if you look at private schools, you will find a school in every nook and corner. Here, at least we have a proper garden but others are crammed in small house buildings, just for the sake of earning. This is no way, please!

(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)

In Lahore, you do have schools with grounds e.g. some army schools, they do have very large grounds, but in any case we do not have a culture of organizing summer camps and coaching etc. It is missing from the whole of Pakistan overall.

(Father, (Elitist) Private School 1)

For children and parents in public schools, an additional concern was restricted opportunities for play due to intensive work plans, demanding curricula and excessive emphasis on written work:

The syllabus is a lot. It should be shortened. First, children sit down to learn their class work, when they're done, it's time to do their homework. They never find any time to play. Some who wake up at 6 30 in the morning are going to bed around 2 a.m.

(Mother, Public School 3)

In analysing factors facilitating or hindering play, Nussbaum's distinction between internal and combined capabilities proved particularly useful. For instance, whether children consider play a good use or a waste of time relates to their internal capabilities or traits and abilities developed through interaction with their environment (Nussbaum, 2011, p.21). One female student at an elitist private school complained that her teacher punished students by 'asking them to go out and play'[62]. Thus, when important time missed from class ought to be spent playing outside, it is not surprising for children to develop a worldview of play as distracting or 'opposite' to education. This was evidenced in the following remark by the student's class fellow:

[62] While Chapter 2 highlighted the distinction between institutions and actions of institutions, the current example points to the need to discern actions of actors within institutions as well. In the given context of education, separating actions of institutions from actions of actors within institutions is important if conclusions are to be drawn regarding their influence over children's educational capabilities.

I think sports are a waste of time…They distract from studying. I like studying, I do homework.

(Male student, (Elitist) Private School 1)

Such evidence is even less surprising in the context of public schools which, as highlighted earlier, are likely to burden children with excessive work:

Teacher, education is such a thing that if you waste time in playing around, you won't be able to do it.

(Male student, Public School 2)

The following remarks by public school children provide a parallel example of gendered play. Such references highlight the need to reflect upon and reform elements in children's environments that promote or hinder beliefs about the importance and nature of play in everyday school experiences and beyond:

R: So which other games do you play at school?
Racquets, badminton.
R: Anything else? What do you play amongst yourselves?
We play hide and seek, catch me if you can. You know girls just play games like these.

(female students, Public School 4)

Girls: No, we don't play. If the boys play with us, we play with them sometimes. Otherwise, we don't play in the school or go to the park.
R: So boys, you don't include them in play?
Boys: We do, but they soon complain "We are tired, we can't play".

(discussion, Public School 2)

The remark about girls' health and tiredness hints at the importance of other characteristics such as the level and distribution of household resources, especially given the intra-household inequalities affecting female children. In other words, the combined capabilities or the social, political and economic environment in which children indulge in playful activities are equally important. For instance, one factor constraining play is the lack of leisure time available and is directly influenced by the number of hours children spend in paid or unpaid work

depending on household circumstances. Similarly, political restrictions imposed by the provincial government, such as a ban on educational trips owing to security concerns or a precautionary ban on water sports like swimming for fear of Dengue, are hindrances that parents and children have little control over. It is important to acknowledge, nonetheless, that opportunities for play in this case are, in fact, traded off against capabilities like safety and health. At a broader level, parents also criticized the government for an overall lack of interest in promoting sports:

> *If you talk overall, what interest does the government have in promoting sports? Hockey is like your national sport and nobody cares about it really so that reflects down on schools also! There is not enough emphasis on sports I would say.*
>
> *(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

(ii) Parents valued confidence both as an outcome and enabler of education, that is, they valued the capability to be confident as a product of the educational opportunities afforded as well as confidence as an achievement or functioning that promotes participation in school activities. As mentioned earlier, however, most references to the ability to be confident were associated with participation in sports and other extracurricular activities:

> *Definitely, the more extra-curricular activities you have, the more confidence will children gain.*
>
> *(Father, Public School 1)*

> *If a person has confidence, sport will also come to him... he will believe in himself, that he can do it…achieve it.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 1)*

A related concern was whether sports and opportunities for play ought to be competitive, parental responses to which displayed divided opinion:

> *…sport does such wonders. It affects your confidence, self-confidence and also, hopefully, it will happen in a non-competitive way because the more you do it in a competitive way, it is converse. If you put it in a non-cognitive, friendly way, it helps them (children) focus more on sports than on competing with each other which in*

turn, you know, brings out good, positive qualities.

(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)

If they (children) play mixed section wise, they will be able to interact with not only children from their class but also find out how good are children from other sections. They will want to compete with them and when children get that motivation, they perform better.

(Mother, Public School 2)

Psychologists stress that assessing the quality of play is as important as the quantity of playing activities, and that the capability is strongly related to children's other capabilities such as social interaction and education (Addabbo and Tommaso, 2011). By highlighting important factors concerning play at school, such as adequate time and opportunities to play, gendered notions of play, the role of competition and correlations between play and capabilities like confidence, the qualitative findings presented above endorse such prior research and evidence from comparative assessments. Questions in subsequent analysis therefore appropriately address these aspects in children's capabilities for play across different types of schools in Pakistan.

4.1.2i Values and Etiquettes

The ability to learn values and etiquettes ranked high in both participant groups and was the only capability common to both types of respondents and types of schools. While children often equated it with becoming a good human being, it was interesting to observe how their examples of good morals were largely derived from everyday classroom experiences, such as respecting teachers, behaving nicely with friends, refraining from talking behind teachers' and peers' backs, avoiding blame, cheating or stealing things in class and so on. In particular, children from both public and private schools expressed concern over the use of swear words by class fellows and teachers, arguing that it is a differentiating factor between educated and uneducated people.

Parental values, on the other hand, emphasized discipline and obedience in class and overall grooming to 'move around in society', that is, learning how to behave with people, speak with etiquette etc.:

It [Education] should provide values. Just like children are trained at home, they should be trained and provided values at schools.

(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)

Basically, education is not just about the brand name. It's the grooming of the child. The behaviour of the child, how he moves around society, how he/she is moving around whenever he is going somewhere else, somewhere out, for shopping for example… He should know the etiquette.

(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)

While grooming, etiquettes and manners were often used interchangeably, it was more difficult to decipher whether parents' desire for children to acquire their 'own' values entailed social, cultural or sometimes even religious connotations[63]:

…the challenge is there. It's a global world – it's the age of information. How do you give your child information but keep him connected to your values also? As an abroad parent, that is what I experienced…He [son] was spending eight hours in the school with American, British, German, Belgian, French teachers. So how would you impart cultural values without bringing religion into it? How would they say stay clean or don't throw garbage outside because it is Islam? They would say it as it is – it's a wrong thing to do, you just don't do that…I think it is cultural and religious, balanced like that.

(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)

For parents at religious schools, however, the notion was clearly a religious one: acquiring good values equalled acquiring the characteristics of a *Momin* (a true Muslim) in accordance with the Holy Prophet (PBUH)'s teachings, such as modesty, humility, kindness etc. Some parents also reminisced about values 'in their times', expressing concern over declining respect for teachers and family structures in present-day Pakistan:

[63] A related issue concerns the distinction between 'good' and 'bad' values as any set of values, social, cultural and/or religious, can be described as good or bad depending on the individual who endorses or denounces them. In the present research context, the definition of good values originates in individual valuations and does not involve value judgements by the researcher. For capability measurement, commonly identified good values by children and parents (e.g. telling the truth, obeying elders etc.) are mentioned in the questionnaire.

Education is not the same as it was in our times…Our times were decent times, we used to listen to our parents, respect values. Even today when I visit my school, everything is the same but these things have changed. Even my old teachers who are still there tell me 'Things were so good in your times'…That (time) is our vision as parents.

(Mother, (Private) Religious School 2)

A crucial distinction between parental perspectives in public and private schools on one hand, and religious schools, on the other, stems as much from *the source of, or motivation underlying values* as much as the values being imparted. As highlighted in the following section on Religion, it appeared that parents at the private religious school in fact valued the religious environment in which children were being groomed. Nonetheless, parent participants appeared in general agreement that education is as much about what we learn to be as about the knowledge we obtain from it (Walker, 2003) and ascribed equal importance to both.

4.1.2j Religion

As highlighted in Table 4.2, education's role in promoting knowledge about an individual's religion was valued by children across all schools, and parents in low-cost private and religious schools. Differences in the values children attached to religion, however, related to differences in their level of exposure to, and desire for, religion. Children at elitist private schools, for instance, valued more highly the need for tolerance of other religions, detesting the idea of denying children of other faiths, such as Hinduism and Christianity, access to quality schools. Similarly, two best friends at a low-cost private school complained that their parents constantly tried to force them to stop associating with one another as one was Sunni and the other, Shia. Thus, for children in such schools, knowledge about religion implied knowledge of Islam *in addition to* knowledge about, and tolerance for, other religions. On the other hand, children at public and religious schools had more 'grounded' experiences of religion through maintaining prayer charts at school, attending prayers or recitations at the mosque with fathers or siblings and participating in communal religious activities, while children at Madrassas exhibited greater keenness for Islam still by expressing the desire to complete *Hifz* (learn the Quran by heart).

It was interesting to observe, however, that most parents and children discussed religious

knowledge *in contrast to* worldly knowledge or sometimes even education itself. In some instances, the contrast between Islam and English hinted at a degree of secularism associated with the latter[64]:

> *Parents usually tend to direct their children towards worldly knowledge so that the child excels in the world. But alongside that, deeds are important…he should have good deeds like offering prayer…not that they send him for a PhD, but also good deeds…So with worldly things, we should have Islam too.*
>
> *(Male student, Madrassa)*

> *…it shouldn't be the case that they (children) learn only about worldly things and forget about religion altogether. Education is not everything, it is not necessary that we have English alone, Islamiyat should also be there.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 3)*

> *I would just say it would be really nice if they could add a few things which I just mentioned, like recitations you know. The previous school here, EPIC[65], had that - girls would cover their heads, exchange greetings the religious way and side by side, there was also emphasis on English.*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

Like children, parents' views regarding religion differed depending on exposure, experience and desire. Parents at the elitist private school, for instance, suggested that education could emphasize positive aspects of religion if, instead of teaching about various sects in Islam and fuelling the divide, teachers focused more on the basic values in Islam, like honesty, modesty, cleanliness etc. As highlighted earlier, such respect for tolerance on the part of parents was also reflected in their children's upbringing. The fact that only parents at the elitist private school discussed tolerance and debated the need to teach comparative religion at schools hints at a wider dearth of a similar discussion by parents across all schools. This finding is important as in addition to being a value that establishes in children over time, tolerance

[64] The contrast between religion on one hand and worldly or secular knowledge and English on the other is interestingly remindful of Pakistan's history and the rise of Muslim nationalism in colonial India (Chapter 1) when Muslims resisted English education out of a fear of the encroachment of Christianity upon their own religion and religious education imparted in Madrassas.

[65] *Educational Partnership of Islamic and Contemporary Studies*

defines children's world view, their idea of otherness and their level of social acceptance and affiliation at school and beyond.

Parents at the religious private school, on the other hand, valued what they termed a 'religious learning environment' which, in addition to creating a physical environment that endorsed religious values, provided children with depth and reason, helping them to understand why they were allowed certain things as part of an Islamic culture and not others:

> *It is not strictly an Islamic education. It is only about providing an Islamic environment. If you consider the syllabus, the same things are being taught at every school. It is just the environment in which it is delivered at school.*
>
> *We as mothers do not have enough time at home and require a school environment which can incline our children towards religion, give them the power to tell right from wrong.*
>
> *(mothers, (Private) Religious School 2)*

Some physical features of such an Islamic school environment included gender segregation, rules for covering the head for teachers and students, communal eating sitting on the floor, learning prayers and reciting Quranic verses for different religious occasions, celebrating holy times of the year, decorating school boards and classrooms with religious material and so on. Some children and parents also expressed admiration for schools where teachers dressed in traditional attire and not 'Western' or 'American' clothing, like jeans and short shirts. When asked their views on whether teachers should be allowed to wear such clothes, children at religious schools responded with giggles and 'shame', suggesting teachers should wear *burqas* to school. Interestingly, it was precisely the same children who also favoured same-gender teachers for girls' and boys' classes.

4.2 Important Themes in Comparisons between Types of Schools

Part of the focus group exercise with children and parents was aimed at initiating comparisons between school types, for example, whether certain schools provided educational capabilities that others did not or whether participants' chosen form of schooling fared better or worse in the provision of those capabilities. The resulting discussions deepened the understanding of participants' valuations as well as decisions regarding school

choice by highlighting the importance of a range of institutional and household factors, as described below.

4.2.1 Equality and Elitism

Much of the evidence presented above indicates a divide between the lived schooling experiences of children attending public, private and religious schools. How did participants feel about this divide? On one hand, parental sentiment relating to public schools revealed a strong desire to match private provision in quality and name:

> *[We want] everything that private schools are providing. Private wins appreciation. You tell me, where did you start from? Private or public? Private! That is what we want. We want the difference to be overcome. Children who study in private schools get associated with a kind of superiority, while we study in public schools and are considered less. So there comes a considerable gap/difference between private and public.*
>
> *(mothers, Public School 3)*

On the other, parents at all private schools, elitist, low-cost and religious, supported closure in differences by condemning discrimination and elitism:

> *I think overall, there is polarization in our system between O&A-Level and Matriculation. This inequality should not be there. We all know that not everybody affords such education so we should not discriminate between the two.*
>
> *(Mother, (Private) Religious School 2)*

> *I also want to add one point: elitist attitude. I am sorry to bring this up but having returned from abroad after so many years, I feel I have to be at the American Centre or British Council. Why can't ordinary Pakistanis have access to libraries, decent libraries that everyone can afford? So much elitist attitude! ... I go there given my membership, but there are people in this country who pay taxes and are denied that access and membership. When will there be libraries for them and where should their children go? So I hate this elitist attitude.*
>
> *(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

The above remark is important in reminding us of the complexities in education inequality beyond the predictable; the fact that even many affluent and tax-paying parents may not have (access to) facilities like public libraries hints at a deeper institutionalization of social, economic and political arrangements over time that further inequalities in education. While basic at best, the following analysis discusses one such aspect of these complexities, namely, institutional differences between school types, in terms of affordability and accountability, and schooling and the built environment.

4.2.1a Affordability and Accountability

> *There is a lot of difference between your private and government schools. It should be lessened and the reason is that our poor people cannot afford private schools.*
>
> *(Male student, Madrassa)*

Affordability featured as a primary determinant of school choice among public school parents who described how soaring private school fees or lack of adequate finances forced them to switch to public schools:

> *…You can get free books here…my husband is an electrician, we don't afford private education anyway so we chose this school.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 4)*

> *Teacher, my father's salary is meagre so we had to leave the private school. They ask for three months fees altogether which is around Rs. 15,000 and we did not afford it. And here, the whole year's fees paid together are just Rs. 250.*
>
> *(male students, Public School 3)*

The above remark may make us wonder however, why, despite financial constraints, parents lacking affordability enroll their children at private schools in the first place[66]. The answer lies in parental perceptions regarding difference in quality of public and private provision, particularly for children in lower grades:

[66] Interestingly, quantitative data collected in the subsequent round of fieldwork (Chapter 5) revealed that 48 out of 98 or nearly 50 per cent public school children had switched schools in the past. Of these 48, 44 or 92 per cent were previously studying at a private school. Contrastingly, not a single child in the pool of private school respondents who had switched schools had attended a public school in the past.

My fourth child is in Prep[67]. He's in a private school. The thing with private schools is that they provide a good base. In government schools, there are a greater number of children so individual attention is unlikely. In the private sector, their way of going about it is that they pay attention to every single child, so I let my children in private schools for 2-3 years so that they develop a good base and then shift them to government schools.

(Mother, Public School 2)

I got them admitted to a private school for two years. Of course, only when they have developed a strong base can they deliver in Grade 1 here you know.

(Mother, Public School 3)

The above remarks lend support to Ahmed et al's (2013) broader findings linking parental perceptions regarding school quality and private school choice. They demonstrate how different dimensions of school quality, for example, teacher presence at the primary level and teaching skills/competencies, the quality of subjects taught, the quality of physical infrastructure etc. at higher levels of education, are significant in explaining parents' school choice decisions favouring private schooling. Part of parental perceptions regarding quality of schooling also stemmed from better accountability in private schools. While public school parents questioned teachers' failure to deliver quality education in the classroom despite higher salaries, parents in elitist private schools explained how school coordinators and teachers in the latter were self-motivated and conscious of their answerability to senior management. They associated teacher absenteeism and lack of discipline in public schools with shirking and complacency resulting from the permanence of government appointments, coupled with a lack of accountability. Some also hinted at lack of political freedom and unavailability of public funds for Principals to plan and implement improvements in schooling[68].

[67] The other three being older were enrolled at the public school.

[68] Informal conversations with Principals at public schools hinted at similar political frictions. Firstly, one Principal explained how most decision-making powers rested with higher authorities, yet School Heads were held responsible or accountable for consequent decisions and actions. She complained of little political freedom in implementing school-level decisions such as organizing school trips (banned by the Education District Officer due to security concerns), constructing a playground in the school premises (a hard-won permission in her school's case), and replacing depleted and obsolete furniture dating from 1948 (a decision which despite being approved met delays in execution). Overall, she blamed bureaucratic inertia and avoidance of responsibility at various levels in the political hierarchy for preventing growth and development in schools. Secondly, a couple of parents and Principals mentioned how (provincial) government initiatives such as the Punjab Youth Festival – an amalgamation of sports and other activities for school going children at the provincial level – crowded out activities at the school level. Parents alleged how such political stunts stole staff's and children's attention from extracurricular activities at school whereas School Heads explained how participation at the same was often

For parents at low-cost private schools, affordability translated into obtaining 'everything that elitist private education offered, albeit at a reasonable price'. One Principal at a low-cost private school also described her biggest achievement as designing a curriculum for junior classes that borrowed from various curricula taught at popular elitist private schools. While the effectiveness of such an eclectic curriculum may be questionable, the argument sold well among parents:

> *I chose [this school] because here, with some variation, you can the find the same things as other private schools but with an affordable fee.*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

The fact that none of the parents in the private religious school mentioned quality concerns suggests that they were either content with education equality or did not prioritize it. The latter seemed true for parental decisions regarding children's enrolment at Madrassas at least as one Madrassa owner described poor school performance to be the very reason why parents withdrew children from formal schooling and enrolled them at Madrassas. The other reason, in his opinion, was families' abject poverty for which free boarding and lodging facilities at Madrassas potentially promised better living standards for children. The owner's perspective, however, clearly lacked reference to religious motivations in enrolment decisions, and while contrasting parental opinions with the same would have been an interesting avenue to explore, the study met a limitation in lacking focus groups with parents at Madrassas due to logistical constraints.

4.2.1b Schools and Built Environments

The discussion on affordability naturally links to whether schools charging high fees differ in their promise and delivery of better education services. Some of these aspects have already been discussed above and while a detailed account of differences in public and private provision is beyond this study's scope and objectives, the following analysis highlights particular differences in school and built environments at large, as discussed and observed during focus groups. Given popular perception, it was hardly surprising that parents in public schools considered their 'expensive' private counterparts better able to afford the physical

---

forced and bloated by government departments, for example, when including 'fake' students in participant lists, that is, children who had been enrolled at school on paper for years but had barely ever been in attendance. Some also criticized the fact that the prizes promised to winners at the Festival were never distributed in reality, demotivating students to participate in such extracurricular activities and burdening school resources in terms of providing compensatory/consolation prizes.

resources, like fans/electricity during summer, clean drinking water, and furniture etc., necessary to improve children's overall learning experience. However, the argument concerning impact of school facilities on learning remained questionable in the context of outliers, such as most low-cost and private religious schools crammed into residential buildings and colonies. For instance, even when lacking a proper playground, a notable feature among most public school buildings was the construction of classrooms in a C or L-shaped design around open spaces, allowing greater room for play and movement. Where classrooms and/or furniture were inadequate, multi-grade teaching occurred inside available classrooms alongside additional 'make-do' classes in the open. On the other hand, low-cost private schools operating in residential buildings restricted children's mobility and sometimes resulted in poorly lit and poorly ventilated classrooms (also confirmed during several field visits). Where they were small in size, such schools optimized space by converting kitchenettes and store rooms into classrooms. Where they appeared big and spacious, the inside often comprised large hallways separated with thin folding partitions and several classes being held simultaneously. Thus, whether children in such classrooms with poor audibility learnt any better than multi-grade or 'make-do' classrooms in public schools is debatable. Nonetheless, one lesson from such field observations was the need to delve deeper into the links between school facilities and environments that were conducive to learning rather than taking them at face value.

It was observed that other factors relating to the built environment also influenced decisions regarding school choice and consequently children's educational capabilities. These included: i) ease of commuting to schools, such as transport links, availability of schools in close proximity etc.: for most parents sending children to public schools, distance and convenience of location were often the single most important determinant in school choice; ii) spatial disparities, such as differences in quality of housing, availability of electricity etc. – some public school Principals mentioned dearth of private schools in rural areas and a higher incidence of poverty among children enrolled at public schools. One School Head explained how parents often even lacked resources to provide adequate meals or breakfast for children who then complained of dizziness and headaches during school time; and relatedly iii) community facilities and neighbourhoods, determining the nature and level of children's daily activities and interaction with others. Regarding the latter, it was interesting to observe a clear divide between public and private school children's experiences: on one hand, children and parents in elitist private schools mentioned living in colonies or army

cantonment areas with large grounds and access to facilities like libraries, clubs etc., whereas, on the other, public school parents expressed fear and reluctance in allowing children, particularly girls, to step outside their house:

> *Ma'am I sleep and then get up to go play for an hour. We have a big colony and there are so many grounds. There are many flats and houses. I play football.*
>
> *(Male student, (Elitist) Private School 1)*

> *…our area is very nice but the lanes outside our house, the atmosphere there is very, very bad. Now, it's right outside your house so you can't even step out but the boys standing in the lane, they're very bad. There is smoking, shooting. They are big guys, our kids are small. Even if you have to complain, how can you call their parents and complain each time?*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 3)*

> *We should try to keep our girls inside, because when you ask children for something and they step out to get it then there are different sorts of people in the neighborhood. They speak in their own many ways, someone speaks Punjabi, and someone speaks Urdu...so a child picks up from there*[69]*... When a child moves around, he learns from his environment. This is how it is at our place. We don't let our children out - we make sure that the girls keep inside, the boys we send only when it is truly unavoidable... This way, the child's environment stays very nice.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 1)*

Children at Madrassas also pointed out how poor environments potentially interfered with learning and practicing religion:

> *If the surrounding environment is bad, then that is a problem too…then the child cannot progress in a Madrassa because it is only about the Deen (religion). It cannot be learnt like that. If the environment is foul, the child learns wrong stuff, goes to the wrong places e.g. we have these shops these days where they have gaming…if he goes there, then he cannot do Hifz because this thing doesn't get into the mind like that…so*

[69] Children's knowledge and use of foul words was a popular concern in their 'going out to play', and it was interesting how several parents and children in *both* public and private schools mostly associated such influences with Punjabi.

we should see to it that we are living in a place where the environment is good, the child's friends are okay, the institution he is being enrolled at is okay, the teachers there are good…

(Male student, Madrassa)

While the above remark reiterates the importance of environments in children's learning, it is interesting to observe how built environments and surroundings concern parents and children in public schools and Madrassas alone, and not private schools. Since most private schools in Pakistan are urban (Chapter 1), this also indicates potential disparities between schooling experiences across urban and rural locations as well.

4.2.2 Intergenerational Factors and the Role of Families

Can individuals and communities value education without education? This question continues to riddle capability debates as on one hand, low desire or value for education may reflect communities' adversity and adaptation to enduring of disadvantage, whereas, on the other, forcing education on communities warns of encroachment on choice and parochialism. Given this context, it was interesting to observe how parents with low educational attainment across school types remained very aware of the same when describing valued educational capabilities for children, and how despite their own lack of knowledge, they trusted other parents' opinions regarding what ought to be valued in education:

I tell you what, had we been pursuing regular education right now, we would've given you very good answers. But now, we are housewives... We now do not have much knowledge to answer your question. What can we tell you? [others agree].

(Mother, Public School 3)

[Smiles] All that these ladies said is very good. It sounds so good to the ears. They said all the right things. I am not educated myself, you know…but I can feel that whatever was said by these two ladies is very true. You just note their points on my behalf too, just think that I have the same things to say.

(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)

Low educational attainment therefore did not deter parents' desire for children's education,

rather, it inspired just the opposite sentiment. This is an important observation particularly in light of Pakistan's social/cultural context, as lower parental education may actually partly improve children's capabilities through higher parental aspirations and expectations:

> *It's just that parents should remain strong, whatever the problems. There are some homes where the elders, when they see that the daughter has grown up a bit, say, 'Stop it now, make her sit at home now.' … But parents should use their mind, because we have been through all of this you know.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 1)*

> *For me, it is just that I want my daughter to be educated. Like I said, I am not educated myself. In our family, no one is. The men/boys in our family all work at the factory. I work too. There is no one at our place who can teach my daughter, and it is difficult affording a school but I am determined that no matter what, I just have to make my child educated …*
>
> *(Mother, (Low-cost) Private School 2)*

Parental education, however, was observed to affect children's learning in several other ways. Language and other communication difficulties between mothers with low education and school-going children have already been discussed above. A related factor was the degree of parents' willingness to enrol children for tuitions: less educated parents in public schools explained they had little choice to decide otherwise, while more educated parents and parents in elitist private schools advocated personal guidance for children:

> *I teach all my children myself. Because the way a mother's teaching is effective, no tuition matches it. If there are few topics that you don't have understanding of or are unable to teach, that's another thing. But if you can spare some time for your kids, they will learn properly and much better.*
>
> *(Mother, Public School 2)*

> *This is the part of the parents - why are they sending their child to tuition? They should not! If they see their child is not learning from the school, schools always welcome the parent. You can go and discuss with the teacher why my son/daughter is not learning and understanding the concept. Then if you do not get feedback, you can*

send your child to tuition. This is the fault of the parents. What [do] parents do? They say, 'Okay, let's just let it be, I can't look after it, let's just send him to tuition.

(Mother, (Elitist) Private School 1)

It is also important to acknowledge the broader role of families in children's upbringing and learning beyond parental education. For example, children in elitist private schools indicated the importance of authoritative parenting when mentioning activities with parents such as selecting books and reading together. Similarly, one parent at a public school highlighted the importance of household characteristics such as household size, when commenting that being an only child had influenced her daughter's behaviour towards others. As explained in Chapter 3, information on such individual, family and household characteristics relevant to children's educational capabilities was sought through the household survey accompanying children's capabilities questionnaire. The next chapter discusses in detail quantitative findings obtained from the same.

Conclusion

The findings reported in this chapter lend voice to young children participants' and their parents' perceptions regarding valued educational capabilities in Pakistan. Their merit lies not only in the generation of new information about a previously unexplored aspect in education policy but also in the light cast on children and their potential role in aiding future education policy planning and development in the country. A simple count of dimensions reported in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 demonstrates children's ability to identify nearly as many valued roles of education as their parents while a qualitative review of content indicates diversity in thought. In most cases, children's direct reference to classroom experiences vis-à-vis teachers and peers also reveals first-hand information about their lived realities of schooling and the many dimensions of well-being at school. In some cases, it was observed that parents remained unaware of some of these dimensions[70]. While macro-level educational outcomes in Pakistan currently limit themselves to functionings (as in most countries), the real benefit of a micro-level study, like the current one, lies in yielding information about capabilities, and information for assessment of capabilities, across diverse schools (Vaughan, 2007). Children's legitimacy and ability to articulate valued educational capabilities, then, may later

[70] Recall the discussion on Bodily Integrity where parents at Public School 1 remained unaware of the incidence of corporal punishment narrated by students at the same school.

encourage and translate into a shift towards different, subject-based welfare policies at the micro, meso and macro levels (Biggeri and Libanora, 2011, p.93).

Qualitative findings reported in this chapter also demonstrate how some capabilities are more widely acknowledged than others, and how some others win little or no recognition in participant valuations. For instance, it can be observed that most dimensions identified in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 relate to capabilities like Practical Reason, Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought, Affiliation and Religion while others like Play, Bodily Integrity and Emotions, do not feature among the lists at all. Such findings merit further exploration. Several questions may be asked, such as: *Why is it that capabilities with potentially greater non-cognitive content like Bodily Integrity, Emotions and Play are under-emphasized or not valued by participants?* and *Does similarity in non-recognition of such capabilities also imply similarity in achieved levels or functionings in the same among children across different types of schools?* By obtaining further insights in this regard as well as doing cross-generational comparisons of capabilities (parents and children in this case), we may get a sense of 'evolving' capabilities in education. A point deserving mention here is that participants *did* have thoughtful opinions on some such seemingly unvalued capabilities when prompted for responses. This means that if encouraged to speak, children and parents can make meaningful contributions to otherwise ignored aspects of educational debates, thereby highlighting the need for active two-way communication between state and school-level actors and recipients in a decentralized system of education service delivery like Pakistan's.

Finally, this chapter also highlights the role of parental and household characteristics in determining children's valued educational capabilities. In some cases, parental influence may be more direct, for instance, it was observed that low parental education among public school parents offered a possible explanation for greater emphasis and articulation of its intrinsically valuable role by public school children as well. In other cases, parental characteristics and decisions appeared to influence children's capabilities indirectly, for example, restricting their autonomy when considering life choices (practical reason) or promoting gender roles through informal education when discouraging girls from stepping outside. One avenue inviting further exploration is the source of similarities and differences between parental valuations themselves across different types of schools, that is, whether such similarities and differences occur by virtue of certain contextual factors such as economic and social and cultural backgrounds. Another ignored aspect concerns the ways in which individual and

parental factors mediate children's capabilities, even when education policy is directed towards the enhancement of the latter. For example, in the case of the provincial government's decision to introduce English as the medium of instruction in public schools, it was observed that lack of parental knowledge about the language disadvantaged certain public school children in obtaining proper guidance from their parents following implementation. Similarly, efforts like the Punjab Youth Festival failed to result in greater opportunities for play by crowding out school-level activities and even discouraging participation when promised rewards for winners were not granted. While the legitimacy of such decisions in promoting real opportunities and extending beyond being mere political strategies is a debate in itself, it is important to realize how they permeate children's everyday educational experiences at school and beyond.

Chapter 5: Quantitative Findings

Introduction

The use of the CA with respect to education in Pakistan is rare, and the scanty research that does exist mostly comprises qualitative assessments concerning secondary or higher education students (e.g. Alkire, 2002; Tamim, 2009; Hammad and Singal, 2015)[71]. In this context, the current study adds value by employing the CA with young, primary-age children as well as combining qualitative and quantitative research techniques to objectively assess their educational capabilities among various types of schools. This chapter reports results from the quantitative tools employed in the current study, namely, a children's capabilities questionnaire and an accompanying household survey, to address the study's primary research question, that is, how do children's educational capabilities differ across different types of schooling in Pakistan. It additionally explores how potential differences in such capabilities may be mediated by individual, family and household characteristics[72].

Chapter 5 is divided into two sections. Section 5.1 introduces the statistical model used to report quantitative findings and briefly discusses challenges in data collection and analysis. Section 5.2 analyses these findings in light of the primary research objectives mentioned above, that is, it discusses whether and to what extent differences in school type affect children's educational capabilities and additionally explores the role of certain individual, family and household factors in explaining such variation. The chapter also offers reflexivity by establishing linkages between the reported quantitative findings and information provided in previous chapters, as well as broader empirical evidence on educational capabilities.

5.1 Data: Choices and Limitations

The primary objective of this section is to specify an appropriate statistical model to objectively evaluate children's educational capabilities in the context of school diversity in Pakistan. In order to meet this objective, it is important to revisit some of the recurrent

[71] One example of a study employing quantitative tools (bivariate probit analysis for ad hoc surveys) is Mehrotra and Biggeri (2010), exploring whether children in home-worker households in Pakistan and Indonesia are more likely to work than other children, and, if so, how this impacts their capabilities.

[72] School characteristics beyond schooling type, such as number of staff, teachers' qualification etc., were deliberately omitted from data collection and analysis as they lie beyond the given research enquiry's scope and purpose. Thus, whether differences in children's capabilities across school types occur by virtue of school-level factors beyond public, private and religious orientation is a point of enquiry for future research. The current study, meanwhile, is only aimed at addressing whether any such significant differences in children's capabilities exist between school types.

theoretical and contextual themes in previous chapters. Chapter 1 sowed the seeds of the research problem in arguing how, in addition to broader economic, social and spatial inequalities, the institutionalized existence of distinct overarching tiers of education potentially worsens education inequality in Pakistan. By adding a capabilities perspective, Chapter 2 enriched the discussion by illuminating broader informational spaces for assessment of educational capabilities on one hand, and consideration of disadvantage that conditions educational endeavours on the other. A case was made for recognizing the role of families in influencing children's valued educational capabilities and cognitive and non-cognitive skill development as well as acknowledging various sources of human diversity that disadvantage certain individuals or groups (Sen, 1999a). Combining theoretical and contextual evidence from previous empirical studies concerning primary education in Pakistan and literature on educational capabilities, Chapter 3 informed the design and content of the quantitative tools employed in the current study. As described in the research methodology, the choice of variables for the capabilities questionnaire and household survey also incorporated qualitative assessments from focus groups as detailed in Chapter 4. For both the quantitative tools, however, what remains to be specified is a statistical model that accounts for individual, family and household variations and, at the same time, appropriately captures the effect of school diversity on children's educational capabilities in the current study's context. This is achieved in the following subsection.

5.1.1 Statistical Model: Specification and Limitations

The current study entails a cross-sectional snapshot of children's educational capabilities and circumstantial factors and does not explore any long-term trends. It employs linear regression analysis (OLS) to assess the impact of school type on children's educational capabilities for the achieved data set by specifying the following statistical model in STATA (adapted from Cuong and Linh, 2016):

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L + \beta_2 Si + \beta_3 Xi + \beta_4 H_i + \varepsilon_i \qquad (1)$$

Where Y_i denotes individual *i*'s total capability score, L, location of school (urban or rural), S_i, vector of dummy variables indicating school type, X_i and H_i, vectors of individual and parent and household characteristics respectively (detailed in 5.1.2 below), and ε_i, unobserved characteristics. The effect of school type is captured by β_2.

The choice of linear regression analysis is partly justified by the research task at hand, that is,

providing the starting point for an empirical investigation that evaluates the role of specific regressors, such as types of schools and other contextual factors, on children's educational capabilities – Cameron and Trivedi (2010) describe the relative simplicity and usefulness of linear regression analysis in this regard – and partly by similar use in prior investigations concerning education and/or capabilities or cognitive and non-cognitive development, both generally and specifically in Pakistan's context (e.g. Aslam, Bari and Kingdon, 2008; Silles, 2011; Maguire et al., 2012; Cuong and Linh, 2016). OLS estimates are, however, prone to sample selection bias resulting from some groups in a population being left out of the process of choosing the sample as well as endogeneity, or, more specifically, omitted variable bias where an explanatory variable is correlated with the error term. In the current study's context, the former implies potentially leaving out a certain category of schools or individuals from the sample selection process, but the two-stage randomization described earlier helped address this concern. Stratifying school types and randomizing both school and student selection ensured that all types of schools and students were appropriately included as part of the sample. Regarding the latter, consider the example of evaluating the effect of the number of books read by children in an academic year on their score in an annual reading test. It is expected that the higher the number of books read by individuals, the higher their reading scores will be. The number of readings, however, may in turn positively correlate with children's innate ability which, if left unspecified as part of the error term, can bias or overestimate overall results. This is because endogeneity in the model will provide an estimate of the cross-section correlation between innate ability and reading test scores rather than representing a causal effect between the number of readings and test scores. While nearly every regression analysis runs the risk of leaving out an important explanatory variable and thus over- or under-estimating specified variables, one way of reducing such endogeneity is randomized selection. This was already adopted by the study, as discussed above. Additionally, as described in Table 5.2 below, the study employed a range of controls to better estimate the relationship between school type and children's capabilities, including individual characteristics like parent-reported levels of learning ability as a proxy for innate ability (Ahmed et al., 2013). The broader problem of endogeneity, however, is often addressed using two-stage least squares (2SLS) or instrumental variable (IV) estimation provided a suitable instrument is available. Such level of sophistication in estimation could not be achieved given the demands of software proficiency and time constraints. Nonetheless, one variable for future consideration as IV for which data were also collected is distance to

school. It indicates parental willingness to invest in their children's education but does not impact children's capabilities under different types of schools in any significant way.

Another limitation encountered by the current study was missing information: as explained in Chapter 3, household information for the set of 26 elitist private school respondents and a few private religious school respondents could not be obtained due to permission issues and time constraints in the field. This implied that unlike the complete 'capability information' for the 177 questionnaire respondents, corresponding household information was only available for 140 children, with none belonging to elitist private schools. Consequently, the econometric model described above comprised two levels of analysis: a reduced version employing all 177 observations, including children from elitist private schools but excluding most regressors or independent variables, and a complete model employing the 140 complete observations and entire range of explanatory variables, but excluding elitist private school children from analysis. The complete model was already specified in (1). The reduced statistical model is given by:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 X i + e_i$$

Since the only known variable in X_i (discussed below) for the reduced model is Gender, it may be specified as:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 G_i + \mu_i \qquad (2)$$

where G_i denotes individual i's gender, and μ_i, unobservable characteristics.

A final comment for this subsection concerns two further challenges in the implementation of the model. Firstly, the absence of a control group (e.g. out-of-school children) versus 'treatment' groups comprising children from different types of school statistically necessitated the presence of a base or reference group for comparison. Base levels can normally be employed after using the 'i' operator in STATA for factor variables (STATA, 2013b). The ensuing statistical model, therefore benchmarked public school observations for comparisons with elitist private, low cost private and private religious schools. Intuitively, this seemed logical as state education provides a natural benchmark for comparison with private provision and the bulk of primary institutions and enrolment in Pakistan is public (AEPAM, 2016). Moreover, the set of public observations provided a larger (98) and relatively more homogenized base for comparison than each of the remaining groups comprising the 79 private school observations (elitist (26), low-cost private (31) or private

religious (22) observations), offering a narrower base and potentially less variation. Secondly, a common concern with OLS is robustness of estimates or presence of *heteroskedasticity* where the error term does not have constant variance given any value of the explanatory variable (Wooldridge, 2009). Since the presence of heteroskedasticity generally results in faulty hypothesis testing, it is important to address it through heteroskedasticity-robust procedures. These include alternative estimates of the VCE (variance covariance matrix of the estimate) that are valid when conditions on homoskedasticity and uncorrelated observations are relaxed or compromised in a model (Cameron and Trivedi, 2010). Of these alternatives, cluster-robust standard errors were chosen. In order to justify the choice of cluster-robust standard errors, it is important to recall the primary research objective of the present statistical exercise. Theoretically, it wishes to identify how, in addition to other inequalities, the institutionalized existence of distinct types of schooling potentially worsens education inequality. Empirically, it tests whether significant differences in children's educational capabilities exist by virtue of diversity in school types. The intuition behind clustered data is that there are some unobservables which do not affect observations individually but affect groups of observations within clusters. In the present study therefore these clusters are appropriately defined by schools as the unobservables belonging to children from the same school are likely to be correlated, justifying the choice of cluster-robust standard errors. The latter can be computed using the vce (cluster) option in STATA, providing estimates of the VCE "which are in fact heteroskedasticity-robust and cluster-robust" (Cameron and Trivedi, 2010, p.84). Having addressed the major challenges in model specification and implementation, we now turn to the choice of variables included in the model and issues of data aggregation.

5.1.2 Choice of Variables

This section discusses the composition of the LHS and RHS of equation (1) above in greater detail. As indicated in Chapter 3, data for the LHS or each individual's total capability score, Y_i, was derived from responses to the capabilities questionnaire. Table 5.1 summarizes how the different variable formats and scales employed in the questionnaire were dichotomized into binary-coded data for uniformity in aggregation. Dichotomizing Likert-scale data runs the risk of misinterpretation and loss of information (MacCallum et al., 2002), particularly when including an odd number of points, such as the given 5-point scale. However, most responses to the questionnaire displayed stronger individual tendencies, while neutral

responses only accounted for roughly 10 per cent of the total possibilities[73]. Thus, it may be safe to assume that dichotomizing such data did not incur major information losses. The Yes/No/Maybe questions were similarly binary coded and scales for 'negative' questions, such as *I am afraid of getting hit by teachers,* were reversed for uniformity in aggregation and interpretation. Once this was achieved, data were aggregated at two levels: i) individual capability categories, and ii) total sum of capabilities.

Table 5.1 Scale Adjustment in Aggregating Capabilities

Variable Format/Scale	No. of Questions	Treatment
Yes/No/Maybe	4 (Q1 – Q4)	Yes = 1 No = 0 Maybe = 0
5-point Likert	59 (Q5 – Q63)	Points 4, 5 = 1 Points 1, 2 = 0 Point 3 = 0
Binary	19 (Q64 – Q76 & CQ1 – CQ6)	Favorable/Correct = 1 Unfavorable/Incorrect = 0

The former involved the average score for responses to all questions pertaining to a capability category, such that individual *i*'s score for capability *j* with *k* corresponding questions (Q) was
given by[74]:

$$y_{ij} = (\sum Q_{a,\ldots,k}) \ / \ k$$

The latter, like the HDI (UNDP, 2015), involved a geometric summation of all capability categories, such that individual *i*'s total score for all ten capability categories was given by:

$$Y_i = (y_{i1} * y_{i2} \ ,\ldots, \ y_{i9} * y_{i10}) \ \wedge \ (1/10)$$

The RHS of equation (1) includes vectors X_i and H_i, a summary of explanatory variables within which is provided in Table 5.2. X_i includes child-specific characteristics, such as age,

[73] 1,047 out of a possible 10,443 (i.e. 177*59 where 177 is the no. of respondents and 59 is the number of Likert-scale responses).

[74] Arithmetic averages are central tendencies and disadvantageous in hiding dispersion in variables or data sets. As shown in the next section, this shortcoming was overcome by running separate regressions for each of the elements comprising a capability category, that is, each of the *k* elements comprising a given capability *j* was treated as a regressand in separate regressions and the results were analysed for significant differences.

Table 5.2 Summary of Explanatory Variables

Vector	Dimensions	Type of Variable
X_i	Age	Continuous (No. of years)
	Gender	Dummy (Male = 1)
	Disability	Dummy (No = 1)
	Meals	Dummy (3 or more/day = 1)
	Learning Ability	Continuous (5-point Likert)
	Confidence	Continuous (5-point Likert)
	School Changes	Continuous (No. of switches between schools)
H_i	Father's Education	Dummy (Primary or more = 1)
	Mother's Education	Dummy (Primary or more = 1)
	Father's School Type	Categorical (as indicated in survey)
	Mother's School Type	Categorical (as indicated in survey)[75]
	Father's Occupation	Dummy (Employed = 1)
	Mother's Occupation	Dummy (Employed = 1)
	Parenting Style	Dummy (Authoritative = 1)
	Household Size	Continuous (No. of people living under the same roof and sharing a kitchen)
	Household Socio-economic Status	Categorical (quintile-based)

gender and disability[76], parental perceptions of natural learning ability and confidence (adapted from Ahmed et al., 2013), and two indicators each concerning children's health and prior education, namely, number of meals/day and number of school switches in the past. H_i comprises parent-specific characteristics, such as parental education, school type, occupation and parenting style, as well as household-specific characteristics, such as household size and socio-economic status (adapted from Malik, 2014)[77]. The choice of variables and indicators for all explanatory variables is also specified in Table 5.2. As explained in Chapter 3, household socio-economic status was assessed using expenditure rather than income-based measures; socio-economic quintiles were constructed using annual per capita expenditures to categorize people as belonging to one of the following groups: poorest 20 per cent, second, third and fourth quintiles, and richest 20 per cent.

[75] The reference group for parental school type was public schooling (versus no schooling and private schooling).

[76] While disability has both cognitive and non-cognitive content and/or disruptive and non-disruptive character, the study does not make a distinction between them. In fact, for the sake of this study, it is perceived as any disability or medical condition that children were reported to suffer from by parents.

[77] As indicated in the beginning of this chapter, the rationale for the given choice of variables is a recurrent theme in all previous chapters and explained in detail in Chapter 3 when discussing the construction of both the capabilities questionnaire and household survey.

Given the above model and data specification, the next section presents the core of the present research enquiry by reporting results on differences in children's educational capabilities across school types. The results employ an additive comparison (inspired by Kreuger, 1999) between the following versions of the specified statistical model:

1. Regression analysis employing the reduced version:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 G_i + \mu_i \qquad \text{(Column 1)}$$

2. Regression analysis employing the reduced version plus individual characteristics, X_i:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 X_i + e_i \qquad \text{(Column 2)}$$

3. Regression analysis employing the complete version, that is, with both individual and household characteristics, X_i and H_i:

$$Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 L + \beta_2 S_i + \beta_3 X_i + \beta_4 H_i + \varepsilon_i \qquad \text{(Column 3)}$$

The results also offer differentiation by categories or layers of aggregation in the analysis of capabilities. As will be evident in the next section, a multi-layered analysis like that presented below helps determine whether averaged scores for capability categories mask some of the variation between different dimensions pertaining to the same capability category, as well as exploring the particular dimensions in a given capability to which explanatory variables make a difference:

1. Y_i, namely, the total (geometric) sum of capabilities for individual *i*
2. Y_{ij}, namely, each of the *j* individual capability categories for individual *i* (where j = 10)
3. Y_{ijk}, namely, each of the *k* responses for the *j* capability categories for individual *i*

It is important to note that while Y_i and Y_{ij} are continuous variables (formulae expressed above), Y_{ijk} or individual responses to capability questions represent dichotomized or binary data, as illustrated in Table 5.1. While this does not affect the model specification in any way, the technique chosen to estimate Y_{ijk} above is logistic regression using the *logit* command instead of multiple regression using the regular *reg* command in STATA. This is because where dependent variables are represented by such a binomial distribution, logistic regressions ought to be used. The predicted values for logistic regression models employed in

the current study report odds ratios or the likelihood of success on the outcome variable (in this case, capabilities) by various explanatory variables as opposed to coefficients reported in multiple regressions which predict the nature and size of effect of the explanatory variable on the dependent variable. This interpretation becomes clearer through the examples provided in the next section[78].

5.2 Children's Capabilities: Differences and Determinants

As stated on several occasions, the results reported in this section are aimed at exploring two key aspects: (i) whether children's capabilities vary with type of schooling in Pakistan (*5.2.1* and *5.2.2*), and (ii) whether such variation can be explained by certain individual, family and household factors (*5.2.3*). While complete regression tables are provided for all categories of capabilities, space limitations restrict analytical emphasis to key findings by statistical significance and the nature of the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

5.2.1 Educational Capabilities: Does Type of Schooling Matter?

A useful starting point for the current enquiry is estimation of the model employing total or aggregate capability scores, regression results for which are provided in Table 5.3. As explained in section 5.1, the coefficients for School Types 1, 2 and 3 represent the difference in children's mean capabilities for elitist private, low-cost private and private religious schools with respect to children's mean capabilities in public schools respectively. In other words, they represent the difference in means for total capabilities between a given school type and the reference group (public schools). As observable from the table, children's mean total capabilities do in fact differ by type of schooling: they are *higher* for elitist private and private religious schools than for public schools, and this result is highly statistically significant. On the other hand, mean capabilities for low-cost private schools vary only marginally when compared with mean capabilities for public schools and are statistically insignificant. It may also be noted that the magnitude of the difference improves for low-cost private schools once individual and household characteristics are adjusted for[79].

[78] Detailed logistic regression result tables could not be produced due to space considerations.

[79] This was confirmed by running a separate regression for the reduced version, this time without elitist private school observations. The coefficient for low-cost private schools changed only marginally from that reported in Column 1. Thus, it may be said that the significant increase in the coefficient for low-cost private schools between Column 1 and Columns 2 and 3 is attributable to the adjustment of other independent variables, and not the dropping of elitist private school observations from analysis. Unless otherwise stated, this holds true for the remaining sets of results as well.

Table 5.3 Results for Total Capabilities

	(1) TOT_CAP	(2) TOT_CAP	(3) TOT_CAP
Location	0.0139	0.0529	0.0253
	(0.43)	(1.08)	(0.63)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.147**	0	0
	(3.29)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0337	0.0197	0.0198
	(-1.17)	(0.45)	(0.57)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.0896*	0.131**	0.142**
	(2.43)	(3.45)	(3.99)
Gender	-0.0238	-0.0459	-0.0517
	(-0.85)	(-1.53)	(-1.54)
AGE		0.0161	0.0160
		(0.99)	(0.84)
DISABILITY		-0.0310	-0.0292
		(-0.68)	(-0.54)
MEALS		-0.00729	-0.00661
		(-0.19)	(-0.14)
L_ABILITY		-0.157*	-0.140
		(-2.21)	(-1.81)
CONF		-0.0137	-0.0552
		(-0.27)	(-1.11)
SCH_CHGES		0.0325	0.0388**
		(1.94)	(3.03)
F_EDUC			-0.000119
			(-0.00)
M_EDUC			0.140
			(1.47)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.0754*
			(2.26)
_IF_STYPE_3			0.132
			(1.84)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.158
			(-1.32)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.249
			(-1.61)
F_OCCU			-0.140*
			(-2.99)
M_OCCU			0.0309
			(0.63)
P_STYLE3			-0.0251
			(-1.10)
HHSIZE			-0.000928
			(-0.18)
_IHHSES_2			0.0403
			(1.38)
_IHHSES_3			-0.00431
			(-0.11)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0377
			(-1.51)
_IHHSES_5			-0.0276
			(-0.98)
_cons	0.665***	0.602*	0.740*
	(36.77)	(2.46)	(2.19)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

However, while the current estimation provides evidence of differences with school diversity, it does not indicate whether and to what extent school diversity affects individual capabilities within the broader aggregate: it is difficult to know, for instance, whether the statistically significantly higher mean capabilities for elitist private schools are attributable to capabilities for practical reason or affiliation or emotions etc., or whether the lack of statistically significant differences for low-cost private schools hints at the absence of the same across individual capability categories as well. As mentioned earlier, these effects may be determined by disentangling aggregate capabilities and providing a category-by-category account of observed differences. Appendix 5 provides regression results for each of the individual capability categories, differences in school types across which are summarized in Table 5.4. Contrasted with total capabilities in Table 5.3, Table 5.4 strikes at the heart of the present research enquiry by presenting a more clear and detailed picture of the effects of school diversity on different categories of children's educational capabilities.

Firstly, the table helps identify which individual categories the statistically significant results for total capabilities across school types in Table 5.3 may be attributed to. Extracted from Table 5.4, Tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7 provide a summary of differences in educational capabilities by type of schooling for elitist private, low-cost private and private religious schools respectively. Thus a quick glance at Table 5.5 enables us to associate the statistically significantly higher mean total capabilities for elitist private schools in 5.3 above to individual capabilities like Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought, Learning Disposition and Bodily Integrity. As later analysis shows, some of these confirm prior empirical evidence and qualitative findings. If statistical significance is ignored, positive coefficients for nearly all educational capabilities also indicate how children in elitist private schools generally fare better than their public school counterparts. At the same time, it is interesting to observe how, although small and statistically insignificant, negative coefficients for Values and Etiquettes and Religion, the two contextually relevant capabilities, show poorer mean capabilities for the same among elitist private school students.

Similarly, Table 5.7 demonstrates how higher mean total capabilities for children at private religious schools may be attributed to higher mean capabilities for Bodily Integrity and Values and Etiquettes. Table 5.6 addresses the second question posed above, that is, it shows how statistical non-significance for educational capabilities among low-cost private schools students compared to their public school counterparts does not necessarily imply the same for

Table 5.4 Summary of Differences in Educational Capabilities by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Practical Reason	_ISchool_Ty1	0.0508	0	0
		(0.84)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.00445	0.0478*	0.0458*
		(-0.27)	(2.29)	(2.30)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0675*	0.0543	0.0516
		(2.86)	(1.78)	(1.03)
Knowledge, SIT	_ISchool_Ty1	0.125***	0	0
		(14.95)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	0.00188	-0.00309	0.00941
		(0.13)	(-0.23)	(0.52)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0402*	-0.0222*	-0.0312
		(2.15)	(-2.49)	(-1.70)
Learning Disposition	_ISchool_Ty1	0.0469*	0	0
		(2.23)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.00706	0.0152	0.00614
		(-0.85)	(1.03)	(0.32)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.00957	0.0387	0.0261
		(0.63)	(1.70)	(1.07)
Emotions	_ISchool_Ty1	0.0325	0	0
		(0.70)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.162***	-0.147***	-0.154***
		(-6.60)	(-6.23)	(-5.53)
	_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0701**	-0.0773**	-0.0603
		(-3.16)	(-3.38)	(-2.05)
Bodily Integrity	_ISchool_Ty1	0.436***	0	0
		(13.94)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	0.340***	0.336***	0.304***
		(11.61)	(9.24)	(6.76)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.441***	0.467***	0.475***
		(16.13)	(11.73)	(8.04)
Respect	_ISchool_Ty1	0.136	0	0
		(1.68)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.125**	-0.0813	-0.0908
		(-3.55)	(-1.02)	(-1.46)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0668*	0.0496	0.0493
		(2.18)	(0.62)	(0.70)
Affiliation	_ISchool_Ty1	0.00746	0	0
		(0.27)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0138	0.0317	0.0174
		(-0.39)	(0.78)	(0.46)
	_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0360	0.0439	0.0138
		(-0.51)	(1.64)	(0.40)
Play	_ISchool_Ty1	0.111	0	0
		(1.87)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.285***	-0.204**	-0.220**
		(-6.64)	(-3.59)	(-3.92)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.102*	0.104*	0.137
		(2.70)	(2.19)	(1.77)
Values and Etiq.	_ISchool_Ty1	-0.0764	0	0
		(-0.93)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	0.0471	0.0875*	0.0877*
		(2.00)	(2.42)	(2.84)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0341	0.0729*	0.106*
		(1.58)	(2.53)	(2.31)
Religion	_ISchool_Ty1	-0.0000127	0	0
		(-0.00)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0175	0.0372	0.0433
		(-0.41)	(0.91)	(1.05)
	_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0158	-0.0443	-0.0637
		(-0.73)	(-1.14)	(-1.46)

t statistics in parentheses, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0$.

Table 5.5 Summary Results for School Type 1 (Elitist Private Schools) w.r.t Public Schools

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Total Capabilities	0.147**	0	0
	(3.29)	(.)	(.)
Practical Reason	0.0508	0	0
	(0.84)	(.)	(.)
Knowledge, SIT	0.125***	0	0
	(14.95)	(.)	(.)
Learning Disp.	0.0469*	0	0
	(2.23)	(.)	(.)
Emotions	0.0325	0	0
	(0.70)	(.)	(.)
Bodily Integrity	0.436***	0	0
	(13.94)	(.)	(.)
Respect	0.136	0	0
	(1.68)	(.)	(.)
Affiliation	0.00746	0	0
	(0.27)	(.)	(.)
Play	0.111	0	0
	(1.87)	(.)	(.)
Values and Etiq.	-0.0764	0	0
	(-0.93)	(.)	(.)
Religion	-0.0000127	0	0
	(-0.00)	(.)	(.)

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5.6 Summary Results for School Type 2 (Low-Cost Private Schools) w.r.t Public Schools

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Total Capabilities	-0.0337	0.0197	0.0198
	(-1.17)	(0.45)	(0.57)
Practical Reason	-0.00445	0.0478*	0.0458*
	(-0.27)	(2.29)	(2.30)
Knowledge, SIT	0.00188	-0.00309	0.00941
	(0.13)	(-0.23)	(0.52)
Learning Disp.	-0.00706	0.0152	0.00614
	(-0.85)	(1.03)	(0.32)
Emotions	-0.162***	-0.147***	-0.154***
	(-6.60)	(-6.23)	(-5.53)
Bodily Integrity	0.340***	0.336***	0.304***
	(11.61)	(9.24)	(6.76)
Respect	-0.125**	-0.0813	-0.0908
	(-3.55)	(-1.02)	(-1.46)
Affiliation	-0.0138	0.0317	0.0174
	(-0.39)	(0.78)	(0.46)
Play	-0.285***	-0.204**	-0.220**
	(-6.64)	(-3.59)	(-3.92)
Values and Etiq.	0.0471	0.0875*	0.0877*
	(2.00)	(2.42)	(2.84)
Religion	-0.0175	0.0372	0.0433
	(-0.41)	(0.91)	(1.05)

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5.7 Summary Results for School Type 3 (Private Religious Schools) w.r.t Public Schools

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Total Capabilities	0.0896*	0.131**	0.142**
	(2.43)	(3.45)	(3.99)
Practical Reason	0.0675*	0.0543	0.0516
	(2.86)	(1.78)	(1.03)
Knowledge, SIT	0.0402*	-0.0222*	-0.0312
	(2.15)	(-2.49)	(-1.70)
Learning Disp.	0.00957	0.0387	0.0261
	(0.63)	(1.70)	(1.07)
Emotions	-0.0701**	-0.0773**	-0.0603
	(-3.16)	(-3.38)	(-2.05)
Bodily Integrity	0.441***	0.467***	0.475***
	(16.13)	(11.73)	(8.04)
Respect	0.0668*	0.0496	0.0493
	(2.18)	(0.62)	(0.70)
Affiliation	-0.0360	0.0439	0.0138
	(-0.51)	(1.64)	(0.40)
Play	0.102*	0.104*	0.137
	(2.70)	(2.19)	(1.77)
Values and Etiq.	0.0341	0.0729*	0.106*
	(1.58)	(2.53)	(2.31)
Religion	-0.0158	-0.0443	-0.0637
	(-0.73)	(-1.14)	(-1.46)

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

individual capability categories. In fact, it shows large and highly statistically significant differences for capabilities like Bodily Integrity and Play, addressed in greater detail below (5.2.2).

Secondly, a quick glance at Table 5.4 allows a key observation that school diversity affects all educational capabilities except Affiliation and Religion. Chapter 4 reported several dimensions of the capability for Affiliation, such as avoiding fights, being empathetic, being able to form and maintain positive relationships and being confident in interaction with others. Similarly, the capability for Religion comprised being able to obtain knowledge about one's own religion as well as knowledge and tolerance of other religions, valuations for which were not spread evenly across children from different school types. The statistical non-significance of results for the two categories therefore merits further enquiry to assess the effects of school diversity on different dimensions within the two, just as the statistical significance of differences in other capability categories merits a similar exercise. For instance, it can be seen from Table 5.4 that mean capabilities for Play are lower for children in low-cost private schools compared to their public school counterparts. This finding is consistent with qualitative results which revealed that parents mentioned lack of physical spaces, facilities and opportunities in relation to the former. At the same time, however,

differences across schools for capabilities like Bodily Integrity and Emotions are strikingly large and statistically significant even when they were not recognized as valuable by children and parents during focus groups. Thus it is clear that a reflexive exercise combining both quantitative and qualitative findings (as intended in the research methodology described in Chapter 3) potentially provides a richer account of the real and lived differences in children's capabilities in the context of school diversity, addressed in detail in section *5.2.2*.

5.2.2 Zooming In – Dimensions in Capabilities and Diversity in School Types

Section 5.2.1 provided clear hints about where differences in children's total capabilities lie by virtue of school type. The task ahead is to zoom in on each and enrich the analysis by exploring differences accruing to particular dimensions within capability categories by type of schooling. Theoretically, this involves examining one set of capability results in Table 5.4 at a time and borrowing evidence from logistic regression results for individual questions pertaining to the chosen capability category. Additionally, as stated earlier, the quantitative findings presented will also be discussed in light of prior qualitative findings to better evaluate the permeation of differences caused by school diversity.

5.2.2a Practical Reason

Table 5.8 recalls the summary of regression results for differences in Practical Reason (PR) by type of schooling[80]. While no statistically significant differences are observed for elitist private schools, mean capabilities for low-cost private school students are higher than for their public school counterparts in the X_i adjusted and complete versions of the model (Columns 2 & 3).

Table 5.8 Differences in Practical Reason by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Practical Reason	_ISchool_Ty1	0.0508	0	0
		(0.84)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.00445	0.0478*	0.0458*
		(-0.27)	(2.29)	(2.30)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0675*	0.0543	0.0516
		(2.86)	(1.78)	(1.03)

[80]While differences by individual, family and household characteristics will be discussed in the final section of this chapter, it is important to bear in mind that the estimates for school types presented below have been obtained after the model controlled for them (Columns 2&3).

Thus once differences in individual characteristics are adjusted, mean capabilities for PR become higher in low-cost private than public schools. For private religious schools, the opposite holds true, that is, while displaying a small positive statistically significant coefficient in the reduced version of the model, the difference in mean capabilities for private religious schools loses significance in subsequent versions. To better understand these statistically significant and non-significant differences in PR, a review of its constituent dimensions is imperative. Recall that PR included children's ability to:

i) tell right from wrong
ii) form independent opinions and express them
iii) aspire to become someone

Regarding the ability to tell right from wrong, children were asked whether they identified themselves more with children who can tell the difference (Q65) and whether their school teaches them what is right and what is wrong (Q13). It is observed that *all students* in private schools, elitist, low-cost and private religious, perfectly predict the odds of success on the first question, that is, they report possessing such an ability. This finding is intriguing as it describes a characteristic true to all types of private schools, highlighting potential for enquiry into commonalities among them. For the second question, however, it is observed that statistically significant differences occur by *location* of schools rather than type of schools: the odds ratios for Location are statistically significant in all three versions of the model but <1, implying that the odds of children responding positively with regard to their ability to learn right from wrong from school is lower in urban school students than in their rural counterparts. This result seems counter-intuitive as schools located in urban areas are often expected to report better educational outcomes than rural ones. One explanation may be that urban schools or populations tend to place greater emphasis on academic achievement compared to non-academic abilities, such as telling right from wrong. Consequently, children in urban schools may be less likely to report success on the above variable than their rural counterparts or, alternatively, it may be that rural schools actually emphasize the ability to tell right from wrong more than urban schools do.

Regarding the ability to form independent opinions and express them, children were asked if they had thoughts about most things (Q39), whether they found it easy to share their thoughts with others at school (Q40) and whether teachers and peers were interested to hear what they had to say (Q41). It is interesting to observe that the odds of success for the first two

questions are higher and statistically significant for children in elitist private schools, that is, such children are more likely to report having thoughts about most things and ease in sharing their thoughts than their public school counterparts. The former lends support to the popular perception that the odds of children's ability to think and judge are higher in elitist private schools compared to public school counterparts or at least that children in the former consider themselves better able to do so than the latter. Qualitative evidence in Chapter 4 was also suggestive of the same. The latter may be explained by the fact that a majority of students in elitist private schools also reported ease in making friends with others at school. For instance, only 33 per cent of the students at public schools reported ease in making friends with others compared to 65 per cent of the students in elitist private schools. The proportion of students reporting having friendly class fellows was also marginally higher for elitist private school respondents than for their public school counterparts.

For Q41, it is observed that children in private religious schools bear significantly higher odds of believing their teachers and class fellows are interested in hearing what they have to say compared with their public school counterparts, the result being highly statistically significant. A possible explanation for this finding may be a greater sense of fraternity prevalent in religious schools compared to regular ones. It may be useful to recall from Chapter 4 how parents in private religious schools emphasized the importance of a religious environment at such schools, and how some of the daily activities there comprised communal eating while sitting on the floor, celebrating together holy times of the year etc., factors that lend support to the claim above. Commensurate with overall results for PR by school type, the finding may also be important in explaining the statistical significance of the differences in mean capabilities for private religious and public schools. It is also observed that the odds of success are roughly two to three times higher for children studying in urban schools than those in rural schools, hinting at a more welcoming school environment in the former compared to the latter.

While the ability to aspire to become someone included responses to questions like whether children wished to become someone on growing up (Q54), whether they felt by going to school, they could become someone on growing up (Q8) and whether they thought about their future (Q64), no statistically significant differences in odds ratios for school types were observed for the same. Interestingly, Chapter 4 indicated how children across all school types valued the capability to have a career or future or become someone, hinting at the possibility

that no significant differences across school types may be found for dimensions similarly valued by children across the three types of schools.

5.2.2b Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought

Table 5.9 summarizes the results for KSIT, exhibiting a positive and highly statistically significant coefficient for elitist private schools. This finding appears intuitive as children in elitist private schools are likely to possess higher capabilities for KSIT than others, including public school students. Prior empirical evidence regarding differences in learning outcomes by the schools children attend, for instance, displays how private school students' test scores are between 1½ to 2½ years ahead of their public school counterparts (LEAPS, 2008)[81]. On the other hand, mean capabilities for low-cost private schools vary only marginally compared with mean capabilities for public schools and are statistically insignificant. This finding is important when making qualitative comparisons between low-cost private and public schools as it potentially indicates that, on average, neither does significantly better than the other in promoting children's capabilities for KSIT[82]. Lastly, the coefficient for private religious schools which is positive and statistically significant in the reduced version turns negative while still remaining statistically significant in the X_i adjusted version of the model. This implies that mean capabilities for KSIT are *lower* in children at private religious schools than in their public school counterparts when individual characteristics are controlled for. These are discussed in detail below.

Table 5.9 Differences in Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Knowledge, SIT	_ISchool_Ty1	0.125***	0	0
		(14.95)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	0.00188	-0.00309	0.00941
		(0.13)	(-0.23)	(0.52)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0402*	-0.0222*	-0.0312
		(2.15)	(-2.49)	(-1.70)

Recall that the contextualized dimensions for KSIT included the ability to:

(i) Understand things conceptually (and note rote learn);

(ii) Think, reason and imagine;

[81] The LEAPS data includes all types of private schools. The tests were designed after studying the curriculum for Urdu, English and mathematics. In Urdu and English, the tests included alphabets, word-recognition and sentence construction and comprehension. In mathematics, they included counting, addition and subtraction, multiplication and division and fractions and word problems. The tests were graded and analysed using Item Response Theory.

[82] It is useful to recall that the given results are only representative of the sampled schools and do not provide conclusive evidence.

(iii) Read;

(iv) Learn and speak English.

Regarding the ability to understand things conceptually, children were asked questions like whether their teachers explained things well in class (Q22), whether they understood what was taught in class (Q24), whether they understood their teachers' language in the classroom (Q25) and whether they identified more with children who learnt things without necessarily understanding them (Q67). While there are no significant differences to report for the last question, odds ratios for the remaining three demonstrated some statistical significance. Firstly, it is observed that the odds of children reporting success on Q22 or being explained things well by teachers in class are *lower* for low-cost private school students than their public school counterparts. Contrasting this finding with the overall results for KSIT, it is interesting to observe that Q22 potentially indicates a kind of combined capability deprivation for children attending low-cost schools, that is, while they may not differ substantially from their public school counterparts in their overall ability to understand things, think, imagine, read etc., the fact that they are less likely to be explained things well in the classroom by teachers is an encroachment of a school-level factor on capabilities. The finding is also reflective of potential differences in teaching quality between public and low-cost private schools. The odds ratios for elitist private, low-cost private and private religious schools demonstrate near perfect prediction of success for Q24 and those for elitist private and private religious schools demonstrate perfect prediction of success for Q25. When combined with results for Q22 above, the former is intriguing as, despite lower odds of reporting that teachers explain things well in class, children in low-cost private schools display higher odds of reporting understanding what is taught in class. Given that the overall mean capabilities for KSIT are lower for private religious school students, the latter is intriguing as it hints that the poorer mean for private religious school students is likely to be attributable to other dimensions in KSIT and not the ability to understand things conceptually, as evidenced below. It also indicates that among the several factors explaining differences in mean total capabilities for elitist private and private religious schools, on one hand, and public schools, on the other, identified in Table 5.3 above, one may be children's ability to understand their teachers' language in the classroom.

An assessment of children's ability to think, reason and imagine involved a set of six cognitive questions included in the questionnaire. Their collective results therefore were

estimated using the regular regression model. It is observed that children's mean capabilities for the cognitive aspect of KSIT are *lower in all types of private schools* compared to children's mean capabilities for the same in public schools, the results also being highly statistically significant for elitist private and private religious schools. This set of findings is surprising as children in private schools, particularly elitist private schools, are likely to possess better learning outcomes, as highlighted above. At the same time, however, the findings may indicate 'broader knowledge' or better problem-solving abilities in public school children compared to their private counterparts that may potentially restrict them to academic or curriculum-based learning. The fact that private religious schools demonstrate poorer mean cognitive capabilities in all versions of the model potentially indicates a strong overriding effect resulting in poorer overall mean capabilities for KSIT.

In order to assess children's capabilities to read, they were asked whether their school had a library where they could read books (Q2), whether they got chances to read in class (Q60), whether they were able to read (Q56) and whether whenever they read something, they had to read it multiple times to comprehend its meaning (Q63). It is observed that elitist private schools perfectly predict success on the first outcome variable, that is, all children in private schools confirmed that they had access to library facilities at school. This finding conforms to qualitative findings and observations regarding elitist private schools described in Chapter 4. Although not statistically significant, the odds of children reporting the same at low-cost private and private religious schools were also higher than at public schools. There were no significant results to report for Q60, whereas children in both public and all types of private schools perfectly predicted success for Q56, that is, all children reported being able to read. Care must be taken in interpreting this result, however, as it only represents children's beliefs about their ability to read and not actual reading ability. Regarding the final question, Q63, it is observed that the odds of success are higher for private religious students in the reduced version of the model but fade in subsequent ones. It is also observed that the odds of reporting success on the outcome variable or better comprehension upon reading something the first time are at least thrice as great in children who study in urban schools than those who study in rural ones. The finding regarding Location is particularly important as it potentially highlights reading and comprehension as an aspect of regional disparities in education already highlighted in Chapter 1. However, once individual and household characteristics are adjusted, the effects for both variables are reversed and become statistically insignificant.

Regarding children's ability to learn and speak English, they were asked whether they studied at an English-medium school (Q1), whether their teachers taught in English (Q23), whether they were able to understand English (Q61), whether they were able to speak English (Q62) and whether they identified more with children who get to learn English at school (Q68). It is observed that elitist private schools perfectly predict the odds of success on the outcome variable for Q1, as well as that the odds ratio for private religious schools is large and highly statistically significant. This implies that the odds of children reporting that they study in an English-medium school are significantly higher among respondents in the two schools compared to public schools. Although not statistically significant, higher odds of success are also reported for low cost private schools. As suspected, one explanation for this finding is that most children in public schools may be unaware of the provincial government's recent transition to English-medium schooling for state schools. Additionally, since the language in the classroom remains Urdu in many schools (as pointed out by participants during focus groups and discussed in Chapter 4), children may have had doubts about reporting their school as English-medium. Similar results were obtained for all the remaining questions except Q68 for which there were no statistically significant results. This implies that the odds of children reporting being taught in English, being able to understand and being able to speak English are several times higher for respondents in elitist private and private religious schools than those in public schools. This result is barely surprising given the emphasis on English-medium education as well as classroom instruction in elitist private schools. It is also interesting to note that while low-cost private schools do not yield any statistically significant odds ratios, the fact that they are lower than public schools for most questions concerning the ability to learn and speak English is, nonetheless, relevant to debates regarding public versus low-cost private education, particularly given the latter's claim to an English medium education.

5.2.2c Learning Disposition

Table 5.10 summarizes the results for Learning Disposition (LD), exhibiting non-significance for all school types except elitist private schools. This implies that mean capabilities for LD are greater among elitist private school students than their public school counterparts. While non-significant, however, subsequent versions of the model also reveal marginally higher mean capabilities for LD among children in low-cost private and private religious schools.

The contextualized capabilities for LD included the ability to:

i) Be motivated to obtain a good education/willingness to study;

ii) Be interested in and inquisitive about learning new things in class.

Table 5.10 Differences in Learning Disposition by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Learning Disposition	_ISchool_Ty1	0.0469*	0	0
		(2.23)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.00706	0.0152	0.00614
		(-0.85)	(1.03)	(0.32)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.00957	0.0387	0.0261
		(0.63)	(1.70)	(1.07)

The former involved asking children questions like whether they liked going to school (Q5), whether attending school made them desire a good education (Q7), whether their teachers made studies interesting in class (Q21) and whether they identified more with children who wished to study in class (Q70). It is observed that for the first three questions, statistically significant odds ratios exhibit near perfect or perfect prediction of success, that is, nearly all children in all types of private and public schools confirmed their motivation and willingness to study or obtain a good education. While Chapter 4 attributed the acknowledgement of the intrinsic value of education to public school students alone, the above findings indicate that children's desire or motivation to obtain education may exist regardless of their articulation of the same and, alternatively, that such desire or motivation may potentially originate elsewhere e.g. the instrumental roles of education rather than intrinsic importance alone. It is also interesting to observe how, for the final question (Q70), private religious schools perfectly predict success on the outcome variable, hinting at a greater degree of class discipline among students combined with the desire to obtain a good education, as mentioned above.

Regarding the latter dimension in LD, that is, interest and inquisitiveness in class, children were asked questions like, whether their teachers encouraged them to ask questions (Q19), whether they felt interested to learn what was taught in class (Q55), and whether they identified more with children who wished to learn new things (Q69) and asked a lot of questions in class (Q71). There were no key findings to report for Q19, while all children across all school types responded positively to Q55: feeling interested to learn what is being taught in class. Similarly, results for Q69 revealed perfect prediction of success by elitist

private and private religious schools, that is, all children in the two school types reported being interested to learn new things, while such odds were significantly lower for low-cost private school students compared to their public school counterparts. The results for Q71 also indicated much higher odds for elitist private school-going children asking a lot of questions in class. This is an important finding as it may lend support to the popular perception that elitist private schools encourage and emphasize reasoning and critical thinking skills, whereas public schools do not. At the same time, it is worthwhile to recall that mean capabilities for the cognitive aspect in KSIT were lower for children in all types of private schools compared to those in public schools.

5.2.2d Emotions

Regression results reveal highly statistically significant differences between school types for emotional capabilities (EMO), as shown in Table 5.11. It is observed that the mean capabilities for EMO are lower for children studying at private religious schools in the reduced and X_i adjusted versions and still lower for children studying at low-cost private schools across all versions of the model compared to their public school counterparts. While non-significant, mean capabilities for elitist private school students, on the other hand, appear higher than mean capabilities for EMO for public school children. The contextualized dimensions for Emotions include the ability to:

i) Be free of fear in class;

ii) Be encouraged by teachers;

iii) Be loved by teachers.

Table 5.11 Differences in Emotions by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Emotions	_ISchool_Ty1	0.0325	0	0
		(0.70)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.162***	-0.147***	-0.154***
		(-6.60)	(-6.23)	(-5.53)
	_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0701**	-0.0773**	-0.0603
		(-3.16)	(-3.38)	(-2.05)

Questions pertaining to freedom from fear in class included whether children feared their teacher's anger if they asked a question a second or third time (Q29), whether they thought

teachers should be allowed to hit children (Q31), whether they were afraid of getting hit by teachers and whether they were afraid of being hit by other class fellows (Q43). It is observed that the odds of reporting success on nearly all questions are significantly lower for low-cost private and private religious students compared to their public school counterparts. For instance, the odds of *not* supporting the idea of teachers hitting children are significantly lower for children in private religious schools, and still lower for children in low-cost private schools compared to public school students, the results being highly statistically significant in all versions of the model. The previous chapter observed that (i) children with no lived experiences of corporal punishment, such as those at elitist private schools, strongly argued against it, and (ii) others who had suffered punishments remained divided on their legitimacy, with roughly half the respondents favouring caning and beating and perceiving it to be 'for their own good' or 'to fix their future' or simply something that 'ought to follow when children did something wrong or didn't obey the teacher'. Whether the above finding, therefore, is indicative of greater odds of *the incidence of* corporal punishment in private religious and low-cost private schools or, alternatively, greater acceptance of corporal punishment among their students remains uncertain. For the last question (Q43), regarding fear of being hit by class fellows, it is observed that the odds of children *not* feeling afraid of being hit by other class fellows are twice as great for children in elitist private schools and nearly 10 times as great for children in private religious schools as for their public school counterparts, the results being highly statistically significant. Consequently, this finding is suggestive of either less fear among children and/or a lower incidence of hitting by class fellows in the two school types. The latter may be supported by broader empirical evidence that suggests attending a privately operating school is potentially associated with less disruptive behaviour and that institutional features of schools may be important in the formation of non-cognitive skills (Brunello and Schlotter, 2011).

Encouragement by teachers was evaluated in terms of both studying better (Q18) and participating in school activities (Q27). A key finding for the former depicted variables like location and private religious schools perfectly predicting success on the outcome variable, that is, nearly all children in urban schools and private religious schools confirmed that teachers encouraged them to study better. The finding regarding urban schools is particularly important as it hints at regional disparities in teaching and learning highlighted in Chapter 1. Regarding the latter (Q27), it is observed that elitist private schools perfectly predict success on the outcome variable, that is, all children in elitist private schools report encouragement by

teachers to participate in school activities. On the other hand, the odds of reporting such encouragement are similarly greater for children in private religious schools but lower for children in low-cost private schools compared to those in public schools. Although significant in the reduced version of the model, statistical significance for both variables fades once individual and household characteristics are adjusted. These findings may also potentially indicate participants' views regarding lack of facilities for sports and other school activities in low-cost private schools described in the previous chapter, that is, lower odds in reporting encouragement by teachers may partly be attributed to the lack of school facilities and activities itself.

A final remark about emotional capabilities concerns children's ability to be loved and cared for by teachers. When asked whether they felt loved by teachers (Q26), higher odds of success are observed for all types of private schools. The odds ratios for low-cost private schools are statistically significant across all versions of the model, whereas private religious schools perfectly predict children's success. This finding is important as it indicates the presence of certain factors that improve children's likelihood of feeling loved by teachers in private schools compared to public schools. Thus factors typically associated with private provision, such as individual attention, greater encouragement by teachers etc., may prove a useful point of enquiry with regard to feelings of love across school types in future research.

5.2.2e Bodily Integrity

As indicated earlier, the most striking result for Bodily Integrity (BI) includes large and highly statistically significant differences for the capability across all school types. As shown in Table 5.12, large positive coefficients for school types imply that mean capabilities for BI are significantly higher for children studying at elitist private, low-cost private and private religious schools compared to those at public schools. As observed, the magnitude of the difference is higher for elitist private and private religious schools compared to low-cost private schools. While Bodily Integrity was not mentioned as a valued educational capability in its own right (as discussed in Chapter 4 and section 5.2.1 above), it is intriguing to observe highly statistically significant differences for it across school types. It is also worth noting how estimates are consistently higher or positive for all private schools across different versions of the model. As evidenced below, these findings are supported by significantly higher odds of success for the same for nearly every question pertaining to BI.

Table 5.12 Differences in Bodily Integrity by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Bodily Integrity	_ISchool_Ty1	0.436***	0	0
		(13.94)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	0.340***	0.336***	0.304***
		(11.61)	(9.24)	(6.76)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.441***	0.467***	0.475***
		(16.13)	(11.73)	(8.04)

The contextualized dimensions for BI included the ability to:

i) Be free from physical and verbal assault;

ii) Be safe and secure at school.

The former dimension was assessed by employing several questions asking children if they felt their teachers punished them really harshly (Q30), shouted at them (Q32) or hit them (Q33), whether their class fellows hit each other during fights (Q42), whether they were hit by class fellows (Q44), whether their class fellows teased them or made fun of them (Q47) and whether their class fellows called them rude names (Q48). Consistent with the overall findings for BI, it is observed that the odds of children reporting success on all of the afore-mentioned variables are significantly higher for all types of private schools. These findings are relevant to debates regarding the incidence of verbal and physical assault in schools, especially when contrasting public and private education provision. While the above deconstructed analysis for Emotions highlighted a greater incidence of *fear* among children in low-cost private and private religious schools, it appears in the results for Bodily Integrity that the actual incidence of *corporal punishment and verbal assaults* may well be higher in public schools compared to private ones. Additionally, for Q33, it is observed that children's odds of reporting not being hit by teachers are more than four times higher in urban schools compared to their rural counterparts. This finding is particularly interesting as it potentially renders corporal punishment more of a rural phenomenon than an urban one, and, like several prior findings, signals regional disparities in teaching and learning.

The latter dimension in BI, namely, being safe and secure at school, was assessed by asking children questions like whether they feel safe at their school (Q6) and whether their school tries to keep its students safe (Q11). Logistic regression results for the former revealed higher odds of feeling safe at school for all private school respondents compared to their public school counterparts, the ratios for low-cost private schools being highly statistically

significant. This conforms to the discussion in Chapter 4 generally attributing better security arrangements to private schools, particularly elitist private schools. Although not statistically significant, results for the latter (Q11) reveal nearly perfect prediction of success for all private schools, that is, elitist private, low-cost private and private religious schools. This means that compared to their public school counterparts, all children in the three types of schools responded positively to the enquiry about safety measures at school.

5.2.2f Respect

Table 5.13 shows statistically significant differences across School Types 2 and 3 for the capability of Respect (RES), albeit in the reduced version of the model. A negative coefficient for School Type 2 implies that mean capabilities for Respect are lower among children in low-cost private schools compared to children in public schools. On the other hand, a small positive coefficient on School Type 3 implies that mean capabilities for Respect are marginally higher for children studying at private religious schools than for those at public ones.

Table 5.13 Differences in Respect by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Respect	_ISchool_Ty1	0.136	0	0
		(1.68)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.125**	-0.0813	-0.0908
		(-3.55)	(-1.02)	(-1.46)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0668*	0.0496	0.0493
		(2.18)	(0.62)	(0.70)

The contextualized dimensions for the capability of RES included the ability to:

i) Not get scolded/beaten in front of others;

ii) Get equal/adequate attention in class.

To assess the former, children were asked whether they were punished before the entire class (Q46), logistic regression results for which reveal significantly higher odds for elitist private, and lower odds for low-cost private, school students compared to their public school counterparts. This is an important finding because while most parents enrol their children in low-cost private schools assuming better educational outcomes, punishments administered in front of class fellows can affect several non-cognitive aspects of their development, such as

confidence, self-esteem etc. Additionally, while the previous discussion on Bodily Integrity indicated lower incidence of punishment in private schools compared to public schools, the current finding suggests that considering the frequency of punishment alone is not enough; the 'quality' or, in other words, the way punishment is administered and before whom may be equally relevant to children's capabilities. Regarding the second dimension, children were asked whether their teachers gave them enough attention in class (Q20), but the variable yielded no significant results.

5.2.2g Affiliation

As stated earlier, the capability for Affiliation (AFF) displayed no statistically significant differences across school types (Table 5.14), meriting further enquiry into its constituent dimensions. These included the ability to:

i) Learn to live peacefully and not fight with class fellows;

ii) Be empathetic;

iii) Be able to form good friendships;

iv) Be confident in interaction with others.

Table 5.14 Differences in Affiliation by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Affiliation	_ISchool_Ty1	0.00746	0	0
		(0.27)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0138	0.0317	0.0174
		(-0.39)	(0.78)	(0.46)
	_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0360	0.0439	0.0138
		(-0.51)	(1.64)	(0.40)

Regarding their ability to learn to live peacefully and not fight with others, children were asked whether they considered most of their class fellows to be friendly with others (Q35) and whether they themselves identified more with children who tend to get angry and pick fights easily (Q74). It is observed that the odds of private religious school children reporting success for the former, and both elitist private and private religious school students for the latter are lower than public school students. Interestingly, this finding conforms to those presented in Chapter 4. For instance, Table 4.1 showed how children across three out of the four sampled public schools valued positive relationships, exhibiting a desire to 'stay clear' and 'keep things pleasant' with class fellows. Similarly, the ensuing discussion on Affiliation

indicated how children in *both* public and private schools attributed a higher incidence of fights to private schools, including elitist private schools.

On empathy, children were asked whether their school taught them to care for others (Q12) to which nearly all children in public and private schools responded in the affirmative, whether it upset them to see a class fellow sad or upset (Q37), for which no significant differences were found across schools, and whether when a class fellow is sad or upset, they feel what he/she must be going through (Q38). For the last question, it is observed that the odds of feeling sad or upset with a class fellow are significantly lower for low-cost private and private religious school students than their public school counterparts in the reduced version of the model. Statistical significance for the ratios also fades in subsequent versions of the model. What do these results imply? In part, they indicate that in addition to being more likely to be involved in fights in class (Q74 above), children in some private schools such as private religious schools are also less likely to be able to feel what their class fellows go through when they are sad or upset, diluting the probabilities of a greater sense of fraternity among them as mentioned earlier.

Chapter 4 described how children across all school types valued good friendships, albeit with differing ease in forming them in the first place. The capability to be able to form good friendships, therefore, asked questions like whether teachers tried to make children friends with others in class (Q28), whether children found it difficult to make friends at school (Q36) and whether children identified more with those who have good friendships at school (Q73). Interestingly, results for Q28 reveal perfect prediction of success in private religious schools and statistically significant higher odds among low-cost private schools compared to public schools. Although not significant, the odds of success are higher for elitist private schools too. Firstly, this finding implies that, in general, children in private schools are more likely to report teachers' encouragement to make friends with other children in class than those in public schools. Secondly, however, it is debatable whether greater likelihood of teachers' efforts in private religious schools, for instance, may also be associated with lower odds of success on not picking fights and being empathetic towards other children at the same, as described above. In other words, whether teachers' efforts stem from teachers' own initiative in such schools or children's behaviour in the classroom and towards others remains uncertain. The fact that children in private schools (elitist and private religious) displayed

higher odds of *not* reporting difficulty in making friends at schools then, may also be partly attributed to teachers' encouragement to do so.

One aspect of friendship is the quality of friends or ability to have 'good' friends, varied definitions of which across different school types were discussed in Chapter 4. When asked whether they identified themselves more with children who have good friends at school than those who do not (Q73), the resulting odds ratios revealed statistical significance for school type and location. It is observed that the odds of children reporting having good friends are significantly lower for children in low-cost private and private religious schools compared to their public school counterparts. The odds of success are also significantly lower for children in urban schools than rural ones in the reduced version of the model. While the differences in odds by location are less explainable, the findings regarding school types seem to conform to qualitative evidence described in the previous chapter where public school students tended to report better friendships at school. In fact, lower odds of success by location may also be partly explained by the fact that a greater proportion of private schools are located in urban areas, as indicated in Chapter 1. It may also be that urban schools focus more on academic achievement, promoting competition among students and potentially lowering odds for friendship.

A final comment regarding Affiliation concerns children's confidence regarding which they were asked whether their school gave them confidence (Q17) and whether children identified themselves more with those who are confident (Q66). While the latter displays no significant results, the former exhibits perfect prediction of success for elitist private and private religious schools. While non-significant, the odds for low-cost private are also higher compared to public schools, implying that, in general, children at all types of private schools display a greater likelihood of gaining confidence from school than those at public schools. This finding is important from at least two perspectives: firstly, confidence is potentially *both* a capability and functioning in that it begets itself, thus the fact that the confidence lent to children is unevenly distributed across different types of schools is problematic. This becomes a graver concern when combined with other findings in Chapter 4 where, for instance, parents across all types of schools valued personality and confidence development in their children. Secondly, confidence is also a non-cognitive skill, part of broader socio-emotional skills which, as argued by Heckman (2008) (and others e.g. Brunello and Schlotter, 2011), deserve equal merit as cognitive development and are equally important drivers of

socio-economic success[83], achievement and well-being (Gutman and Schoon, 2013). While the likelihood of unequal development of non-cognitive abilities like confidence across public and various types of private schools is a serious concern for education inequality, prior evidence indicating the malleability of non-cognitive skills at later stages in life only provides further reason to recognize the potential of investment in fostering them (Ginther, 2010). From an educational policy perspective, therefore, public school reform investing in non-cognitive skill development in Pakistan can potentially improve both such skill development among children as well as socio-economic mobility.

5.2.2h Play

Results for differences in play (PL) by type of schooling exhibit high statistical significance for differences in mean capabilities between low-cost private and public schools (Table 5.15). A negative coefficient on School Type 2 in all three versions of the model implies that children's mean capabilities for Play are lower in low-cost private schools compared to public schools. This finding is consistent with qualitative results described in Chapter 4 where parents in both public and private schools mentioned lack of physical space, facilities and opportunities for children's play in low-cost private schools. On the other hand, mean capabilities for Play seem higher in private religious schools compared to public ones in the reduced and X_i adjusted versions of the model, but this result loses significance once household characteristics are adjusted.

Table 5.15 Differences in Play by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Play	_ISchool_Ty1	0.111	0	0
		(1.87)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.285***	-0.204**	-0.220**
		(-6.64)	(-3.59)	(-3.92)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.102*	0.104*	0.137
		(2.70)	(2.19)	(1.77)

Play comprised dimensions such as the ability to:

i) Have leisure time for play;

ii) Have opportunities for, and participate in, physical activity.

[83] Hsin and Xie (2012) argue that this may not be the case, suggesting that non-cognitive skills are weaker mediators of SES than cognitive skills.

An assessment of the former involved asking children questions like whether they had enough time to play at home after completing homework and studies (Q50) and whether they considered play a waste of time (Q52). While Q50 was inspired by parental concerns among public school participants regarding burdensome curricula and excessive workload, logistic regressions for the same did not reveal statistical significance for differences by school type. That said, however, the results *did* appear partly consistent with qualitative findings and overall capabilities for play as the odds of children reporting having sufficient time to play at home were higher for children in elitist private and private religious and lower for children in low-cost private schools compared to their public school counterparts. Broader evidence on play and school hours also supports the same, for example, in a study exploring Italian children's capabilities for play, Addabbo and Tommaso (2011) find that children's frequency of play with parents and peers lowers with respect to the number of hours at school. On the other hand, odds ratios for Q52 reveal highly statistically significant differences in odds across school types. It is observed that children in elitist private schools are at least four times as likely as their public school counterparts *not to* consider play a waste of time while the odds of success on the outcome variable are lower for low-cost private and private religious school students compared to those at public schools. When combined with the results for Q50 above, it appears that children who are likely to have less leisure time for play, that is, public school students are also less likely to consider it a waste of time. This explanation contradicts the perception that the more children study, the more they are likely to consider play a waste of time.

The other PL dimension regarding participation in school activities comprised a range of questions such as whether children had a ground and swings at school they could play at (Q3 and Q4), whether their school had a lot of sports for children of their age and many events such as competitions etc. (Q9 and Q10), whether their school had enough space for play (Q49), whether they felt girls' and boys' play should be separate (Q51) and finally, whether they were able to participate in the sports of their choice (Q53). It is observed that the odds ratios for all school types are nearly consistent for each of the dimensions specified above. Firstly, the odds ratios for elitist private schools depict perfect prediction for most variables concerning facilities at school and the number of sports and extracurricular events. The ratios for private religious schools similarly indicate the likelihood of better capabilities for play compared to public schools. Secondly, conforming to overall findings for Play as indicated on several occasions, it is observed that low-cost private schools depict much worse odds for

the afore-mentioned, that is, they are less likely to have enough space and facilities for play. For Q9, it is also interesting to observe lower odds of success for children attending urban schools than rural ones, indicating that urban schools are more likely to lack sports for young children than those at rural ones. One explanation may be lack of space for sports, for example, grounds etc. as well as activities due to higher rents and prices in urban areas.

An important finding for this dimension, however, concerned gendered notions of play (Q51): logistic regression results reveal that while private religious schools perfectly predict failure on the outcome variable, that is, all children in private religious schools agree to notions of gendered play[84], the odds of success are also surprisingly significantly lower for elitist private and low-cost private schools students compared to their public school counterparts. This finding hints that gendered play may be prevalent across all private school types irrespective of quality of schooling, and while the current study only compares private and public schools without delving specifically into the extent of pervasiveness of gendered play in public schools themselves, qualitative findings from Chapter 4 indicate that the latter may be no different. The importance of gender in relation to educational capabilities and the broader role of institutional or school-level factors in endorsing gender differences in capability development cannot be overemphasized in the capabilities literature. In a sociocultural context similar to Pakistan's, for instance, Raynor (2007) analyses how factors like *purdah*, restricted mobility and shame and embarrassment about their developing bodies result in an obvious capability failure for play for school-going adolescent girls in Bangladesh. Resonating with qualitative findings in Chapter 4, some of these factors may potentially explain the findings above, particularly for private religious schools. In the broader educational context, Vaughan (2007) draws attention to the importance of *gender-related educational capabilities* pertaining to gender values imparted through the education process. As already indicated in Chapter 2, from a policy perspective, this triggers thought about institutional features in schools such as gender stereotypes in curriculum, teaching and learning (Unterhalter 2015; 2003b; McCowan, 2009) in addition to contextual factors that already restrict girls' capabilities (recall that Chapter 1 described gender disparities in expected and mean years of schooling in Pakistan's HDI. Together with the evidence presented above, it is evident how, in addition to the quantity of education, female students

[84] It may be useful to recall here the discussion from Chapter 4 that described how children at private religious schools were also supportive of same-gender teachers.

also potentially suffer from poorer quality of education compared to that of their male counterparts).

5.2.2i Values and Etiquettes

Table 5.16 summarizes the differences in Values and Etiquettes (VE) by type of schooling. It shows statistically significant differences between mean capabilities for VE among children in low-cost private and private religious schools, on one hand, and public schools, on the other. A

Table 5.16 Differences in Values and Etiquettes by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Values and Etiq.	_ISchool_Ty1	-0.0764	0	0
		(-0.93)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	0.0471	0.0875*	0.0877*
		(2.00)	(2.42)	(2.84)
	_ISchool_Ty3	0.0341	0.0729*	0.106*
		(1.58)	(2.53)	(2.31)

positive coefficient for both School Types 2 and 3 in Column 2 implies that mean VE capabilities are higher in the two types of schools. It is interesting to recall from Chapter 4 that whereas VE was identified as a valued capability by participants across all types of schools, children in all public schools as well as three out of the four private religious schools sampled mentioned it as a valued capability (Table 4.1a). Thus, whether the extent to which a capability is generally valued by children in different schools also determines the extent of difference to which it is fostered across them merits further enquiry.

The contextualized dimensions for VE included the ability to:

i) Learn basic etiquettes and manners;

ii) Learn good values.

For the former, children were asked questions such as whether their school teaches them good manners and how to behave with others (Q14) and whether they identified themselves more with children who are well-behaved (Q72). Similarly, for the latter, they were asked whether their school teaches them good values (Q15) and whether they identified more with children who possess good values (Q76). While there were no other significant results to report for each, it is interesting to observe that the odds of success for all four questions are perfectly predicted by low-cost private schools, implying that all children at low-cost private

schools responded positively to possessing good values and behaviour, and also being taught them at school. As evident, this finding is consistent with the overall results for VE, as shown in Table 5.16.

5.2.2j Religion

As indicated earlier, an interesting finding regarding the capability for Religion (REL) is that regression results reveal no statistically significant differences across school types. In fact, apart from Affiliation, Religion is the only other category where no such differences are reported (Table 5.17). Whether contextualized dimensions within the same predict similar results is therefore a fruitful avenue to explore. These included the ability to:

i) Learn about one's own religion;

ii) Be tolerant and respectful of other religions.

Table 5.17 Differences in Religion by Type of Schooling

		(1)	(2)	(3)
Religion	_ISchool_Ty1	-0.0000127	0	0
		(-0.00)	(.)	(.)
	_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0175	0.0372	0.0433
		(-0.41)	(0.91)	(1.05)
	_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0158	-0.0443	-0.0637
		(-0.73)	(-1.14)	(-1.46)

An assessment for the former included questions like whether children are able to learn about their religion at school (Q57), whether their school has various religious activities (Q59) and whether they identified more with children who are keen on learning about their religion (Q75). The latter asked children whether their school teaches them to treat children of other religions nicely (Q16), whether they feel if a class fellow is of a different religion, they can still be friends (Q45) and whether they are able to learn about other religions at school (Q58). Regarding the former, most children confirmed their ability to learn about their religion at school and perfectly predicted success with respect to keenness to learn about their religion across all school types, private and public. Regarding the latter, there were no significant findings to report except for Q58, in which the odds ratio for private religious schools in the X_i and H_i adjusted versions of the model depict significantly lower odds of success, that is, children in private religious schools are less likely to be able to learn about other religions at school. From an educational perspective, this finding is important as it potentially indicates a

narrower focus in teaching and learning religion in religious schools than public schools.

In summary, the fieldwork findings presented in 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 above provide a detailed account of the differences in children's educational capabilities by types of schooling in Pakistan. A comparison of both total or aggregate and individual capabilities additionally helps identify particular dimensions in which the effects of school diversity are more pronounced or less palpable. However, as indicated earlier, the analysis above deliberately ignored the broader role of families and individual and household characteristics in determining differences across capabilities. Given their emphasized importance in previous chapters (2, 3 and 4), the final subsection for this chapter is devoted to exploring the effects of some key individual, family and household characteristics on different educational capabilities for children in Pakistan.

5.2.3 The Role of Individual, Family and Household Characteristics

As for section 5.2.1 above, a useful starting point for exploring the role of individual, family and household characteristics in explaining variation in educational capabilities is estimating the model employing total or aggregate capabilities. Table 5.3 exhibited how statistically significant coefficients were achieved for four contextual variables. Firstly, the X_i adjusted version (Column 2) of the model depicts a negative but statistically significant coefficient for learning ability, implying that a unit increase in children's learning ability lowers their overall educational capabilities score by roughly 0.15. While this finding appears counter-intuitive as children with higher learning ability are expected to have higher educational capabilities, a possible explanation for this finding may be parental tendency to overstate children's abilities in reporting or, alternatively, that higher learning ability may actually not always improve educational capabilities. The coefficient for school changes, on the other hand, is small but positive and statistically significant in the complete version (Column 3), implying that a unit increase in the number of times children switch their schools improves their total capabilities by 0.03. This finding regarding school-switching behaviour is important as it hints at the significance of both the frequency *and* quality or intensity of the experience of school changes, that is, while (increased) exposure to multiple schooling systems may positively influence children's capabilities, the type of school attended may also affect learning and behavioural outcomes. This is because while roughly 53 per cent of the total respondents never switched schools, nearly all the remaining (who had switched) had studied at a private

school in the immediately previous year. The finding, then, may partly endorse popular parental perception that private schools provide 'a good base' for children's learning, that is, given that a positive correlation exists between school changes and capability development, it may be that such private schools do, after all, provide a stronger foundation for children's educational development.

Column 3 also displays statistical significance for two family characteristics: one of the factors comprising father's school type, and father's occupation. As highlighted earlier, father's school type is a categorical variable; thus coefficients for factors F_STYPE1 and F_STYPE3 indicate the difference in children's mean capabilities when their fathers have not attended schooling, or have attended private schooling, respectively, with respect to the mean capabilities when children's fathers have obtained public education. A positive and statistically significant coefficient for F_STYPE1 implies that children's mean total capabilities are *higher* for children whose fathers did not attend school than for those whose fathers received public education. While this result appears counter-intuitive at first glance, there may be three possible explanations. Firstly, given that there is only a marginal differential between the mean capabilities for children with fathers who have obtained public education or obtained no education, the coefficient for F_STYPE1 may be considered an indicator of poor quality public education for fathers. Secondly, since most fathers (59%) were only educated to Grade 5 or primary level, it may be that a positive correlation between father's education and children's total capabilities only exists for higher levels of parental education. Thirdly, it may be that lower parental education actually positively influences children's capabilities as highlighted through the qualitative findings in Chapter 4, that is, low parental education attainment can increase parental emphasis on education for children, consequently leading to potentially better educational and behavioural outcomes. On the other hand, a negative and relatively large statistically significant coefficient for father's occupation indicates that children's capabilities are lowered by 0.14 when their fathers are in active employment. A possible explanation is that paternal absence or being away at work negatively affects children's educational capabilities.

However, just as in the case of exploring differences by school type, an analysis of contextual factors at the total or aggregate capabilities level does not allow insight into the particular capabilities or dimensions in educational capabilities the same make a difference to. As highlighted earlier, this necessitates complementing the discussion with regression results for

individual capabilities produced in Appendix 5. Table 5.18, therefore, generates a kind of a 'heat map' by colour coding the comparison between total and individual capabilities. The different shades of green depict an additive comparison of positive correlation between various explanatory variables and educational capabilities in the reduced, X_i and H_i adjusted versions of the model respectively, whereas the different shades of red depict the same for negative correlations.

What does the information in Table 5.18 convey? Firstly, it is easy to recognize that apart from the four variables identified as relevant for total capabilities, regression results by individual capabilities highlight the importance of additional contextual factors, such as Gender, Age, and Mother's Education etc. While this also suggests the need to enrich the analysis by adding the final layer of disaggregation, that is, differences by dimensions of individual capability categories, space limitations render a detailed account of the same beyond the scope of the current study. Important findings from dimensions, nonetheless, are incorporated in the ensuing discussion. Secondly, it is also observable from the Table how some factors relevant to total educational capabilities such as Learning Ability and School Changes permeate individual capability categories and how the effects for some of these may be more pervasive than others (e.g. School Changes affects KSIT, AFF, PL and RL). The following analysis therefore explores the effects of each of the statistically significant individual, family and household characteristics above: Gender, Age, Learning Ability, Confidence, School Changes, Mother's education, Father's School Types 1 & 3, Mother's School Type 1, Father's Occupation and Household Socio-economic Status (2nd quintile).

5.2.3a Gender

Table 5.18 shows statistically significant differences in children's capabilities for Affiliation and Religion by Gender. Interestingly, these also represent the only two capability categories across which no significant differences occur by type of schooling. A negative and statistically significant coefficient on Gender in all three versions of the models for AFF suggests that on average, being male correlates with lower levels of affiliation than being female. When considering its constituent dimensions, it is observed that the odds of success for children being empathetic, that is, children reporting being upset on seeing class fellows upset (Q37) are significantly lower for male students compared to female students. These findings conform to broader evidence on the relationship between emotional intelligence and

Table 5.18 Summary of Differences in Educational Capabilities by Individual, Family and Household Characteristics

	L	S1	S2	S3	G	A	D	Me	LA	CO	SC	F	M	F1	F3	M1	M3	FO	MO	PS	HH	E2	E3	E4	E5
TOT																									
PR																									
KSIT																									
LD																									
EMO																									
BI																									
RES																									
AFF																									
PL																									
VE																									
REL																									

KEY

	Negative correlation in the reduced version of the model
	Negative correlation in at least the *Xi* version of the model
	Negative correlation in at least the complete version of the model
	Positive correlation in the reduced version of the model
	Positive correlation in at least the *Xi* version of the model
	Positive correlation in at least the complete version of the model
	No significant results

L	Location	LA	Learning Ability	FO	Father's Occupation
S1	School Type 1 (elitist private)	CO	Confidence	MO	Mother's Occupation
S2	School Type 2 (low cost private)	SC	School Changes	PS	Parenting Style
S3	School Type 3 (private religious)	F	Father's Education	HH	Household Size
G	Gender	M	Mother's Education	E2	Household Socio-economic Status Quintile 2
A	Age	F1	Father's School Type 1 (no education)	E3	Household Socio-economic Status Quintile 3
D	Disability	F3	Father's School Type 3 (private education)	E4	Household Socio-economic Status Quintile 4
Me	Meals	M1	Mother's School Type 1 (no education)	E5	Richest Quintile (5)
		M3	Mother's School Type 3 (private education		

gender, confirming higher emotional understanding and emotive capabilities for females. For example, investigating gender differences in social and emotional learning among early school-age children, Maguire et al (2016) conclude that girls have higher levels of emotional recognition, emotional regulation and competent emotional expression. Similarly, gender differences in several components of emotional intelligence such as empathy, emotional self-awareness and interpersonal relationships are also seen to persist at higher levels of education (Meshkat and Nejati, 2017). Such findings indicate the need to rethink the role of gender in emotional capabilities and their development. As indicated by Naghavi and Redzuan (2011), this will require challenging differential teaching given to boys and girls as well as existing societal and cultural expectations that contribute to differences in emotional intelligence among boys and girls right from infancy.

On the other hand, a negative coefficient on Gender for REL implies that being male also correlates with lower capabilities for Religion. This finding is hard to explain, particularly in the given sociocultural context where religion and religious aspects, such as piety, modesty etc. are likely to be emphasized more in the lives of female children than male children.

Qualitative evidence collected from focus groups also does not support any discrimination on the part of families as religious activities, both at home, for example, Quranic recitation, and in the community life, such as religious gatherings and recitation competitions in neighbourhoods, were emphasized for female and male children alike. In fact, differences, such as accompanying fathers or brothers to mosques for prayers, only point towards higher religious capabilities for boys rather than girls. While none of the constituent dimensions in the capability for REL exhibited gender differences either, such non-significance is intriguing as it urges thought about how an explanatory variable which may not be significant in any of the constituent dimensions of a capability may, nonetheless, *collectively* become significant.

5.2.3b Age

A positive and statistically significant coefficient for Age in both the X_i and H_i adjusted versions of the model for Play indicates that a unit increase in children's age raises PL capabilities. When observed in relation to its constituent dimensions, a unit increase in age raises the likelihood of children reporting a ground at school they can play at (Q3) as well as

responding against gendered notions of play (Q51). The latter result indicates that older and more mature children are likely to decide against gendered play. The former, however, is interesting as it not only concerns the mere presence of play facilities at school (in this case, a playground) but also the issue of *accessing* them. By presenting a greater likelihood of affirmative responses to the question 'My school has a ground *I can play at*', older children then potentially indicate better ability to access grounds for play. However, such findings may also be viewed in light of existing evidence on developmental trends of children's social play in early years (Barbu, Cabanes and Le Maner-Idrissi, 2011), which suggests higher levels of cooperative play, associative play and peer interactions for higher age groups. Therefore, the fact that a unit increase in age increases the likelihood of reporting ground play and voting against gendered play may be attributed to a greater preference for associative, cooperative or peer-interactive play during children's early years.

5.2.3c Learning Ability

As indicated in Table 5.18, Religion is the only individual capability category in which differences occur by virtue of learning ability. This finding appears broadly consistent with qualitative evidence presented in Chapter 4, where informal conversations with Madrassa owners revealed parents' preference for enrolling children at Madrassas mostly when they considered them to have lower learning ability. Extending the argument, it may be that for children with lower learning ability, households encourage a greater emphasis on religious capabilities. Conversely, children believed to possess high learning ability may be encouraged to concentrate more on academic achievement.

5.2.3d Confidence

As indicated in Appendix 5e and Table 5.18, children's capabilities for Bodily Integrity differ by parent-reported levels of confidence. A negative coefficient for Confidence in both the X_i and H_i adjusted versions of the model depicts that a unit increase in children's confidence lowers capabilities for BI. This inverse relationship implies that the higher a child's reported level of confidence, the lower the capability for BI and vice versa. Although seemingly counter-intuitive in linking greater fear or higher incidence of verbal and physical assault among children with improved confidence, two possibilities are presented to explain this result. Firstly, a more obvious explanation is the risk of misinformation by parents in overstating or exaggerating positive attributes in children such as confidence. Secondly, it

may be that parents *actually* consider their children to be confident while remaining unaware of their fears or anxieties concerning various aspects of Bodily Integrity at school. For instance, as described in Chapter 4, focus groups at one public school revealed children's narrations of corporal punishment, while the same cohort's parents demonstrated little or no knowledge of such punishment. Thus it may be that parents' lack of awareness of children's frightening experiences at school lead them to consider their children to be more confident than they actually are.

The constituent dimensions for BI demonstrate that when asked whether their class fellows call them rude names (Q48), a unit increase in children's reported confidence significantly *lowers* the odds of success on the outcome variable. This finding is interesting as, for the same question, it is observed that a unit increase in children's reported levels of learning ability increases the odds of success. Taken together, the findings imply that class fellows may be more 'at ease' teasing relatively confident children than they would be, for instance, when teasing presumably more intelligent children with higher learning ability. One factor lending support to this claim may be that children with higher learning ability are likely to be teachers' favourites (as also evidenced in qualitative findings from Chapter 4). Thus fear of punishment may keep class fellows from teasing them. A less explainable result concerning confidence, however, is presented when children are asked whether their school tries to keep its students safe. It is observed that a unit increase in children's reported levels of confidence significantly lowers the odds of success on the outcome variable, one implication of such a finding being that children who are more confident may not necessarily feel more secure at school.

5.2.3e School Changes

In discussing the effects of school changes on different educational capabilities, it is useful to recall the discussion on the explanatory variable with reference to total capabilities. Arguing for the importance of both the frequency *and* quality or intensity of school changes, the findings partly suggested that popular parental perception concerning private schools providing 'a good base' for children's learning may, after all, be true, that is, given that a positive correlation exists between school changes and capability development, it may be that such private schools do, after all, provide a stronger foundation for children's educational development. The findings also make more explainable, then, differences in children's

capabilities for KSIT with respect to school changes, as highlighted in Table 5.18 and Appendix 5b. It is observed that the coefficient for School Changes is positive and highly statistically significant, implying that a unit increase in children's number of switches between schools raises capabilities for KSIT. As mentioned earlier, this may partly be attributable to potential improvements in knowledge and learning outcomes due to increased exposure to multiple schooling systems and may partly reinforce popular perception that studying at private schools in early childhood enhances children's educational capabilities. When considering its constituent dimensions, similar findings are observed for the set of cognitive questions included in the questionnaire: a small positive but statistically significant coefficient for school changes suggests that children's cognitive capabilities slightly increase with a unit increase in the number of school switches. At the same time, however, findings for the question asking children whether their teachers explain things well in class (Q22) indicate that no previous school changes perfectly predict success on the outcome variable. While appearing contradictory at first glance, this finding may be viewed as *complementary* to the set of findings above in that it indicates that remaining in the same school throughout primary years may allow children greater comfort and understanding in communication with teachers. It is important to note that the positive correlation between school changes and capability development in the present research context may also be attributable to other factors such as class composition and other students' switching behaviour – factors that lie beyond the scope of the current analysis. For instance, using the Project STAR data to analyse the impact of class-level factors such as class size and composition on student achievement, Kreuger (1999) established that a student who is new to a class does better if most other students are new to the class as well. In the current context, it may therefore be that individuals who have switched schools experience higher capabilities for KSIT when most other children in their class have switched schools in the past as well.

Regarding Affiliation, a small but statistically significant coefficient on School Changes (Appendix 5g) implies that a unit increase in the number of switches between schools slightly improves children's capabilities for affiliation. This may be because exposure to multiple schools, learning environments and potentially diverse people enhances children's overall capabilities for affiliation. These findings are confirmed through similar results for questions pertaining to three out of the four dimensions in Affiliation. For instance, for Q35 relating to living peacefully and not fighting with class fellows that asks students whether their class fellows are friendly with others, it is observed that a unit increase in school changes causes a

multifold increase in the odds of success. This may partly be attributed to the fact that children consider their current class fellows to be friendly *relative to their class fellows at previous schools*, or, as explained earlier, they become friendlier and consequently find others friendlier having gained exposure to multiple schools and learning environments. Similarly, for Q28 concerning the ability to form good friendships asking children whether teachers make an effort to make them friends with others, it is observed that the odds of success more than double with a unit increase in the number of school changes. This seems intuitive as for children who frequently switch schools or are new to class, teachers normally make a greater effort to ensure they are befriended by others. Finally, Q17 concerning confidence in interaction with others asking children whether schools give them confidence, it is observed that a unit increase in the number of school changes more than doubles children's odds of reporting success. This may be explained by the fact that children report success on the outcome variable *relative to previous experiences at other schools* or, alternatively, that prior schooling experiences have made such children more confident to respond positively to the above question. Given that confidence is both a functioning and capability constitutive of itself, that is, confidence begets confidence, possibilities for the latter may be quite real.

Table 5.18 and Appendix 5k also indicate a positive effect of school changes on children's capabilities for Play. This effect is reflected in several aspects of children's ability to have opportunities for, and participate in, physical activity. For instance, for questions like Q3 and Q4 asking children whether they have a ground and swings at school to play at, it is observed that a unit increase in school changes increases the odds of success by many times. This implies that either the decision to switch children's schools is potentially associated with the availability of better play facilities and opportunities elsewhere, or, as mentioned earlier, that children have a higher tendency to respond in the affirmative relative to their play experiences at previous schools.

Finally, School Changes also affect children's capabilities for Religion. As indicated in Table 5.18 and Appendix 5j, the variable displays a small positive correlation with REL so that the greater the number of switches, the higher the capabilities for Religion. Two possibilities explain this finding. Firstly, it may be argued that interaction with a greater and potentially more diverse group of class fellows in each school as well as exposure to various learning environments enhances children's capabilities for religion. This is reflected in the higher odds

ratios predicted for the variable for Q45, for instance, which asks children whether they believe they can be friends with class fellows belonging to a different religion. And, secondly, as stated earlier, the set comprising switched schools is also important as it may be that children's enhanced capabilities in the present have, in fact, originated at a different (religious) school in the past.

5.2.3f Mother's Education and School Type

The results for KSIT (Appendix 5b) indicate a positive and highly significant coefficient for mother's education, implying that maternal education at primary level or beyond increases children's capabilities for KSIT. This finding is further supported by the negative coefficient for School Type1 for mothers, indicating that children's mean capabilities for KSIT are *lower* when their mothers have not attended school compared to the capabilities of those whose mothers received public education. When considering constituent dimensions, the findings consistently reflect in children's cognitive ability as well as ability to read and understand things conceptually. For instance, for Q63 asking children whether they have to read something twice or thrice to comprehend it, it is observed that both mother's education at the primary level or beyond as well as at a private school significantly increase the odds of success on the outcome variable. One possibility explaining better comprehension by children may be that educated mothers lay greater emphasis on learning, both at school and home. Data from the LEAPS study in Pakistan, for instance, indicates that children of even moderately educated mothers spend more time studying at home (Andrabi, Das and Khwaja, 2010). While the finding regarding the likelihood of parental education improving children's reading and comprehension abilities through parental guidance with school work and academic learning is intuitive, higher odds of success for children whose mothers have obtained private education compared to those with public education indicate a possible generational effect by virtue of parents' type of schooling. Similarly, the fact that maternal education significantly increases the odds of success for questions like 'My teachers explain things well in class' (Q22) presents another interesting finding that parental education may also enhance children's learning and comprehension in class. Additionally, it is observed that children's odds of success are higher when their parents adopt authoritative parenting, indicating potential synergies between parental education and parenting style in improving children's learning outcomes.

These findings conform to the extensive body of literature on the influence of parental, and particularly maternal, characteristics on children's cognitive and non-cognitive development. Examining the intergenerational correlation between parental skill in adulthood and children's early skills, for instance, De Coulon, Meschi and Vignoles (2011) find strong evidence that parents with better numeracy and literacy in adulthood have children who perform better in early cognitive and non-cognitive tests. Similarly, McLanahan (2004) discusses how more educated women also work more, adding more resources and stability to the family, as well as devote more time to child development activities. Heckman (2008), however, discusses the importance of quality of parenting or the 'nurturing environment' as the main scarce resource which is not always closely linked to parental education or family income. Arguing that conventional measures of poverty focusing on parental education and family income only poorly assess poverty, Heckman and Kautz (2013) emphasize absence of quality parenting, namely, lack of stimulation, attachment, encouragement and support, as the true measure of disadvantage and child poverty. In this way, the strong evidence suggesting potential synergies between parental education and parenting style in improving children's learning outcomes in the sampled schools above broadly conforms to findings from prior empirical investigations.

5.2.3g Father's School Type

While the effect of F_STYPE1, that is, no education compared to public education for fathers has already been discussed for total capabilities above, this subsection discusses the effect of FSTYPE3, that is, private education for fathers on children's capabilities for play. A positive coefficient for the variable implies that mean capabilities for play are higher in children when their fathers have obtained private education compared to when they have received public schooling, suggesting that parental type of schooling potentially impacts children's overall capabilities for play. It suggests that fathers educated at private schools are likely to place more emphasis on the importance of extracurricular activities and play at school to their children than those with public education. When considering constituent dimensions, it is observed that children's odds of not reporting play as a waste of time (Q52) are significantly higher for children whose fathers either obtained private education or no education compared to those whose fathers obtained public education. This finding is interesting as it potentially links parental public education to lower odds of not considering play a waste of time among children. Complementing the set of findings for mothers above, it broadly suggests that both

parental education and parental school type play a role in determining children's educational capabilities.

5.2.3h Father's Occupation

As indicated in Table 5.18, children's capabilities for Emotions and Respect differ by paternal occupation. A negative and highly statistically significant coefficient for the variable (see Appendix 5d) suggests that paternal employment reduces children's capabilities score for EMO. Considering occupation as an indicator of paternal presence or absence, this result suggests a possible positive effect of paternal presence at home on children's capabilities for emotions at school. Constituent dimensions of the capability for Emotions also reflect similar findings for questions concerning fear of teacher's anger when asking a question a second or third time (Q29) and fear of being hit by teachers (Q34). One possibility explaining such results may be that working fathers may be more likely to demonstrate less patience (and consequently adopt the use of physical punishment) in dealing with children, making them more fearful of anger and physical punishment by teachers as well. However, cross-tabulation by the variable in question, father's occupation and parenting style reveals that for a majority of children whose fathers are employed, parental attitudes are mostly authoritative. The above explanation therefore is a weak one and urges further enquiry into the nature and extent of the effects of paternal employment on children's educational capabilities.

Regarding the capabilities for Respect, a negative and statistically significant coefficient for father's occupation similarly indicates lower capabilities for RES when children's fathers are employed. While no significant odds ratios are reported for its constituent dimensions, it is apparent that the variable potentially manifests its effect either in children's ability to avoid being punished before the entire class or being given enough attention by teachers or both. Like Emotions, however, the exact link between paternal occupation and capabilities for Respect merits further research.

5.2.3i Household Socio-economic Status

As indicated in the regression results for Respect in Appendix 5f, a positive coefficient on socio-economic status quintile 2 reveals that on average, children's mean capabilities for Respect are higher when belonging to a higher income category compared to those in the poorest quintile. The above discussion reminds us that the two constituent dimensions of

Respect include the ability to not be scolded or beaten in front of the entire class as well as being given enough attention by teachers. While no significant differences in odds ratios were reported for both, the given finding potentially relates household socio-economic status to the kind of attention and treatment children earn at school.

The above section has highlighted the relevance of some contextual factors in influencing children's educational capabilities. It has demonstrated how the same factor may affect several educational capabilities at the same time, for example, School Changes, as well as several constituent dimensions within the same capability. A concluding remark for this section, however, draws attention to the fact that while the above analysis has insulated the effects of certain statistically significant contextual variables on particular educational capabilities, it is potentially rewarding to explore how the latter and their constituent dimensions are affected by other contextual factors. Moreover, exploring dimensions in which total or individual capability category aggregates do not necessarily reflect the role of contextual factors that may otherwise be important provides an equally promising avenue to explore.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided detailed empirical illustration of one possible way in which children's educational capabilities may be objectively evaluated across different types of schools in Pakistan. The statistical results reported are vast in terms of depth of data as they allow comparison across several layers of aggregation, delving deeper, firstly, into the constituents of total capabilities, such as Practical Reason, Affiliation, Emotions, etc. and, secondly, into the dimensions comprising each such individual category. The results are also vast in terms of breadth of data as they provide an additive comparison of several explanatory variables across three different versions of the devised statistical model. Together, the depth and breadth of results provide a richer and fuller account of children's educational capabilities and lead to important conclusions.

Reflexivity allows several linkages to be established between the quantitative findings reported in this chapter and qualitative evidence provided in Chapter 4. A key finding from the empirical exercise reported above is that differences in children's educational capabilities do in fact exist by virtue of school diversity in Pakistan. When contrasted with Table 5.3, Table 5.4, which provides a summary table of statistically significant results for individual

capability categories, makes it easy to view how significant differences exist within the total capability aggregate. Focus group discussions with school-going children and parents reported in the previous chapter, however, had already indicated the existence of some such differences. For instance, they revealed participants' views regarding relatively better capabilities for Practical Reason and Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought at elite private schools and, similarly, lower capabilities for Play in low-cost private schools when compared to public schools. Moreover, it is interesting to observe how the differences in capabilities are more pronounced and robust for Bodily Integrity, Emotions and Play, precisely the same capabilities participants did not identify as valued in the first instance as reported in the previous chapter. This finding has several important implications. Firstly, it indicates that theoretically determined educational capabilities may be just as relevant as participants' valuations in any capability evaluation exercise. While not undermining the importance of what individuals consciously consider to be valuable, it confirms the usefulness of a theoretical but multiple realizable list of educational capabilities for qualitative and quantitative comparison in the given research context. Secondly, it is suggestive that capabilities that are unvalued or easily ignored by recipients of education may potentially be the primary drivers of difference between children's lived experiences of schooling. Thirdly, it draws attention to the nature and content of such capabilities in determining differences in children's cognitive and non-cognitive abilities and future educational trajectories. Chapter 4 mentioned how capabilities like Bodily Integrity and Emotions (and sometimes even Play) are likely to have a higher non-cognitive content. Chapter 2, on the other hand, described Heckman's research on identification of critical points in human development for cognitive and non-cognitive skill formation and degrees of malleability over the life course for some such skills. Thus careful cross-examination of the content of capabilities and corresponding evidence on critical periods for skill formation can potentially provide meaningful lessons for education policy.

The results reported in this chapter also reveal that for contextually relevant capabilities or most dimensions of contextually relevant capabilities identified in Chapter 4, namely, Values and Etiquettes and Religion, no significant differences occur across school types. What can explain this finding? One possible explanation is that all schools, public, private and private religious, are more or less equally sensitized to the social-cultural factors leading to participants' identification of the two capabilities as contextually relevant in the first place. This is not to say, however, that equality of capability also guarantees adequacy of capability:

that all types of schools still cater only insufficiently to these capabilities in education provision may very well hold true.

As far as differences in capabilities are concerned, a deconstructed approach to address the research problem like that reported above provides several benefits. Table 5k in the Appendix summarizes statistically significant findings for all dimensions and all capability categories across the entire range of explanatory variables in the statistical model. A colour-coded display implies that results may be viewed by level of robustness in the respective additive versions of the model. What does the table tell its readers? Firstly, the summary table explicitly recognizes loss in aggregation when evaluating capabilities: it is easy to view, for instance, how the results for total capabilities (TOT) differ significantly from individual capability categories such as Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought (KSIT) or how dimensions within a category yield significantly different results from the given category itself such as Learning Disposition (LD). Secondly, from a policy perspective, it helps ascribe tasks of urgency by identifying potential dimensions for reform and action and distinguishing them from others. For instance, it can be seen from the table that low-cost private and private religious schools fare worse than public schools in several aspects of freedom from fear in class (EMO), while all private schools, on the other hand, fare better than public schools in all aspects of providing freedom from physical and verbal assault (BI). Thirdly, the table invites attention to the variety of ways in which explanatory variables potentially affect children's educational capabilities and schooling experiences. To begin with, a quick (vertical) glance at the results shows that each of the explanatory variables included in the model demonstrates statistical significance in one capability dimension or the other. This means that all the variables are important in at least some respect. Furthermore, the table demonstrates how the effect of any of these variables cuts across different categories or dimensions of capabilities. For instance, it is observed that father's occupation consistently displays a negative association with total capabilities (TOT) as well as several constitutive capability categories such as Emotions, Respect and Play. On the other hand, the table also displays how the same variables behave positively with certain capability dimensions but negatively with others. For example, learning ability (LA) yields higher odds of success for multiple dimensions in Bodily Integrity but lower odds of success for dimensions in Religion. Thus, when considering children's educational capabilities, it is important to recognize not only the role of certain individual, family and household characteristics, but also their varied impact on different types of capabilities. While the identification and direction of such

characteristics merits further exploration, this chapter has highlighted the complexities in development and evaluation of educational capabilities in the context of school diversity to begin with. It has achieved this not only by discussing a multitude of educational capability dimensions and consequent sources of differentiation between different types of schools, but also the range of external factors other than schooling that potentially play a role in consequent development and differentiation of educational capabilities.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

The practice of human development is riddled with immense choices and challenges today. Which development goals are prioritized, how, by whom and for whose real benefit are pertinent and context-dependent questions in any development process. In addressing education inequality in Pakistan, part of this study has demonstrated how the country's low human development reflects a low growth, high poverty and high inequality context amidst a surging and increasingly young population. Additionally, in reviewing education policy and planning in colonial and post-independence contexts, its historical narrative has highlighted the role of factors like political instability and lack of political commitment in causing sustained neglect of educational priorities and quality education service delivery in the country. While the resulting deplorable state of education has compelled conventional research to dwell on aspects like economic returns to education or qualitative differences in public and private provision, a broader perspective addressing the institutionalization of a tier-ed education structure and its consequences for school-going children's educational development remains missing. The current study, therefore, is an incubation of the same perspective. It asks, Is there an alternative approach to understanding education inequality in Pakistan, and can it provide us with more knowledge about what education in the country's different types of schooling is enabling its children to be and do? By reframing the question of equality as a capabilities one in this manner, the study sheds light on appropriate ways of conceptualizing and measuring educational capabilities in a developing country context. What underpins the logic of the CA in education discourse in general, and the current study in particular, is greater permissibility for broader informational spaces and greater intolerance of inequality and social injustices than rival approaches. The former emphasizes not only plurality of dimensions in which a singular aspect of education may be assessed, but also the specific contexts and processes by which it is brought about. The latter emphasizes disadvantage not only in participating in, and benefiting from, education, but also other freedoms and functionings that can help individuals achieve. Together, the two translate into the study's theoretical contribution by generating multiple contextualized dimensions of valued educational capabilities in Pakistan as well as an empirical contribution in terms of identifying differences among them in the context of school diversity and a range of other factors, as detailed in the section below.

6.1 Summarizing Study Findings

The use of capabilities with respect to school diversity in Pakistan justified the choice of an exploratory research design with sequential qualitative and quantitative data collection (Chapter 3). The first phase (qualitative) comprised focus groups with children and their parents aimed at balancing universal lists of educational capabilities with local insights from participants. The second phase (quantitative) involved a capabilities questionnaire for children that was constructed using both theoretical and local valuations, as well as a household survey to obtain richer information on each child participant. The choice of complementary research tools ensured richness of data and rigour in conducting the mixed-methods study.

Qualitative findings (Chapter 4) reported valued educational capabilities distinguishable by groups of respondents, that is, children versus parents, categories of schools, that is, public versus private and private religious, and roles of education, that is, intrinsic versus instrumental. They demonstrated how some capabilities were collectively valued more than others and how the differences were mediated by school diversity. Additionally, they demonstrated children's ability to identify nearly as many valued roles of education as parents did and revealed first-hand information about the lived realities and many dimensions of well-being at school that their parents sometimes tended to ignore. The findings also discussed the importance of certain institutional factors in schools and the broader role of parental and household characteristics in determining children's educational capabilities.

Quantitative findings (Chapter 5) provided a detailed empirical illustration of how children's educational capabilities may objectively be evaluated across different types of schools in Pakistan. Statistical results compared children's capabilities across several layers of aggregation, that is, total capabilities versus individual capability categories, and individual categories versus their constitutive dimensions, as well as across a range of explanatory variables comprising individual, family and household characteristics. In a few words, the main finding was that differences in children's educational capabilities do, in fact, exist by virtue of school diversity and whilst the effects of certain contextual factors, such as parental education and school type, broadly conform to prior empirical evidence, the varied impact of certain others, such as father's occupation, merits further enquiry.

6.2 Contribution

The study's theoretical and empirical contributions may be distinguished by relevance to broader discourse on capabilities and education in general, and capabilities and education policy in Pakistan in particular. To the former, the study contributes by advancing theoretical concepts in the CA for application to diverse research contexts. This includes overcoming methodological challenges in the identification, measurement and modelling of capabilities in a broader framework of education inequality in Pakistan as well as extending the use of the Approach to design survey instruments, like a capabilities questionnaire for primary school-going children and accompanying household survey. By offering insights into the relevance of the CA to issues of human development for children, the study additionally contributes to existing literature on children and capabilities.

To the latter, namely, capabilities and education policy in Pakistan, the study firstly contributes by providing a capabilities perspective on education inequality in Pakistan. It addresses questions like *What kinds of inequalities result from differentiated school systems?* and *In what ways do differences across school types restrict or expand children's freedoms to be and do certain things?*, to advocate a broader capabilities perspective in providing policy solutions to address education inequality in the country. By advancing a list of ten contextualized educational capabilities, the study indicates multiple dimensions in which inequality in education manifests itself in Pakistan, and consequently, the multiple dimensions that any future considerations of equality in education policy may need to take into account. In emphasizing implications of school diversity, it also underscores the importance of historical and a range of socio-economic, cultural and religious contexts in education policy and planning in Pakistan.

Secondly, the study highlights the role of children and participatory mechanisms in education policy planning in Pakistan. And while the current study primarily demonstrates a capability measurement and evaluation exercise, prior research by the author (Ansari, 2013) has indicated how tools such as the Web of Institutionalization may be employed to institutionalize participant voices in the policy planning and formulation process more effectively. Pakistan continues to tell a story of desired and missed targets in the universal race to goals like the MDG and now SDG. Thus in the sophisticated picture of the universal child and universal childhood that the world paints it is worth asking, Which features of the local child figure have the broad-brush strokes masked? In other words, what is the Pakistani

child's experience of being in or out of school, and which circumstances in life have held him or her back or thrust him or her towards education? What has his or her lived experience of a multiplicity of childhoods at school and home brought him or her to value in education, if at all, and what are some of the educational burdens he or she lives and embodies every day? By underpinning the importance of children in describing valued educational capabilities and then directing attention to the same capabilities in evaluating education, the study provides a possible way forward for education policy in the country. It addresses the missing link in 'human' development in Pakistan by considering participant voices and offers possibilities for integrated policy analysis by combining inputs from policy-makers and school actors, such as children and parents themselves. In doing so, it also contributes to the scanty literature on capabilities and primary education in Pakistan and capabilities and education in general.

Lastly, the study's contribution is highlighted in generating new information about children's educational capabilities in Pakistan. By intersecting a capabilities perspective on education inequality with children's and parents' role in the contextual specification of educational capabilities, the study has contributed fresh knowledge about children's educational development in Pakistan. Quantitative findings for the study have not only produced a range of values for capability indicators and their comparisons, but also inspired debate about their usefulness to future education policy planning. Quite simply, then, the contribution of this study is the production of new information: if there were no information, there would not be hope of a debate regarding the relevance of capabilities to education in the country. Moreover, the study achieves this in a challenging context among not just a handful of schools or a particular type of school, but 31 schools across the three different tiers of education.

6.3 Future Research

6.3.1 Implications for Education in Pakistan

With a topic as vast as Pakistan's overarching differentiated education structure and an informational space as broad and underexplored as capabilities, the possibilities for potential research are endless. In the current study's context, for instance, school characteristics beyond schooling type, such as number of staff, teachers' qualification etc., were deliberately omitted from data collection and analysis as they lay beyond the study's scope and purpose.

Certain school-level factors, such as teachers' encouragement or admonishment, style and language of teaching etc., were only included to the extent that they reflected children's combined capabilities at school in the analysis. Yet, if a capabilities perspective to education equality has to be adopted, the study's qualitative and quantitative findings indicate a range of implications for factors like curriculum content, medium of instruction, teaching-learning methods and pedagogy at large. Whether differences in children's capabilities across school types occur by virtue of differences in each of these or other school-related factors is a point of future enquiry. Moreover, since debates regarding improvements in public education amidst the education emergency unfolding in the country are already taking shape, such an enquiry may be particularly useful in providing a starting point for reform in public schools.

There is, however, a broader implication of the present research for educational reform at the state level. Education, unlike other commodities and services, comprises an ethical component and is highly value-laden. The opportunities, choices and freedoms an individual is afforded today largely decide the opportunities, choices and freedoms his future affords him. Education, then, mediates this process not only by determining an individual's life trajectory, but also by shaping what he values, believes and becomes in the process. The question of whether educational capabilities are distributed fairly across parallel education systems and whether certain capabilities matter more in educational opportunities and choices becomes even more pertinent. At the same time, however, answering this question requires equality debates to be repositioned more centrally in the capabilities space and also greater enquiry into individuals' personal circumstances and contextual factors that promote or restrict capabilities. But how can such a shift towards greater humanization of education policies be achieved in the context of the country's differentiated education structure? In other words, determining what room for manoeuvre do existing structures, processes and institutions provide for generating and sustaining perspectives on educational capabilities and equality in ongoing development policy, planning and practice (Ansari, 2013) remains a challenge for both future policy and future research.

6.3.2 Implications for the Capabilities Approach

The discussion regarding room for manoeuvre for a capabilities perspective in country-specific contexts also concerns the applicability of a capabilities perspective at different levels of government at large. The current study demonstrates one possible way of operationalizing the CA with respect to education in Pakistan, but does not address issues of

scaling up. This involves both scaling up micro-level information and usage to inform national and macro-level strategies and policies, and increasing the area of coverage by envisioned participatory approaches (Estrella, 2000). While prior applications of the Approach demonstrate workability at both micro and macro levels, a crucial question concerns consequent compromises between informational demands of the Approach, on one hand, and practical feasibility, on the other. The possible ways in which the two positions may be reconciled with informational compromises merits careful attention and continued research.

A final remark about this study concerns dynamism within the CA and its implications for the intersection of capabilities and cognitive and non-cognitive skills. In discussing several possibilities of articulation of capabilities in various dynamics, such as contexts, spaces, feedback and time, Ibrahim (2016) draws attention to the important and developing but underexplored and underemphasized concept of dynamism in the approach. Concepts like 'capability erosion' or 'capability stagnation' in individuals over time therefore potentially emphasize the importance of time and processes in capability evaluations. As far as the current study's context of capabilities interacting with cognitive and non-cognitive skills in different times (over the life course) and spaces (different historical and sociocultural contexts) is concerned, some examples similarly hint at the importance of research in this domain. For instance, the historical narrative of education in Pakistan discussing the prestige associated with learning (English) language (that is, a cognitive skill) shared links with children's and parents' collective valuation of the capability to learn and converse in the language (more than some other capabilities) in qualitative assessments. The scope of future research in this domain, however, not only concerns a greater exploration of interdependence between capabilities and skills, as highlighted above, but also how certain skills are vital to certain capabilities to a greater extent than others and vice versa. Additionally, the fact that some such skills and consequently capabilities may not be acquired later in life is a further aspect meriting future research.

Bibliography

Addabbo, T. and Tommaso, M. L. D., 2011. Children's Capabilities and Family Characteristics in Italy: Measuring Imagination and Play. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet, and F. Comim (Eds), 2011. *Children and the Capability Approach.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 222-242.

AEPAM, 2016. *Pakistan Education Statistics 2014-15*. Islamabad: AEPAM, MoFEPT.

AEPAM, 2014a. *Education for All 2015 National Review Pakistan*. Islamabad: AEPAM.

AEPAM, 2014b. *Pakistan Education Statistics 2013-14*. Islamabad: AEPAM, MoFEPT.

Agarwal, B., 2008. Engaging with Sen on Gender Relations: Cooperative Conflicts, False Perceptions and Relative Capabilities. In K. Basu and R. Kanbur (Eds), 2008. *Arguments for a Better World: Essays in Honour of Amartya Sen*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 157–178.

Ahmed, H., Amjad, S., Habib, M. and Shah, S.A., 2013. Determinants of School Choice: Evidence from Rural Punjab. *CREB*. Working Paper No. 1 – 13.

Alkire, S., 2002. *Valuing Freedoms – Sen's Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Aly, J.H., 2007. *Education in Pakistan: A White Paper (Revised) – Document to Debate and Finalize the National Education Policy*. [pdf] National Educational Policy Review Team. Available at: http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Pakistan/Pakistan%20National%20Education%20Policy%20Review%20WhitePaper.pdf [Accessed 25 September 2016].

Anand , P., Hunter , G., Carter, I., Dowding, K., Guala, F., and Van Hees, M., 2009. The Development of Capability Indicators. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 10 (1), pp.125-152.

Anand, P., Krishnakumar, J., and Tran, N.B., 2011. Measuring Welfare: Latent Variable Models for Happiness and Capabilities in the Presence of Unobservable Heterogeneity. *Journal of Public Economics,* 95 (3-4), pp. 205-215.

Anand, P. and Van Hees, M., 2006. Capabilities and Achievements: An Empirical Study. *The Journal of Socio-Economics*, 35 (2), pp. 268–284.

Andrabi, T., Das, J. and Khwaja, A. I., 2010. Education Policy in Pakistan: A Framework for Reform. [pdf] IGC. Available at: https://www.theigc.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/Khwaja-2010-Policy-Brief-.pdf [Accessed 25 October, 2017].

Ansari, A., 2013. Revisiting the Links Between Education Equality and Inclusive Citizenship: Proposals for Educational Reform in Pakistan. *The Bartlett Developmental Planning Unit*. Working Paper No. 149.

Appleton, J., Christenson, S.L., Kim, D. and Reschly, A.L., 2006. Measuring Cognitive and Psychological Engagement: Validation of the Student Engagement Instrument. *Journal of School Psychology*, 44 (5), pp.427-445.

Arif, G.M., Saqib, N., Zahid, G.M., and Khan, A.H., 1999. Poverty, Gender and Primary School Enrolment in Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 38 (4), pp.979-992.

ASEBA, 2013. *School Age (Ages 6 – 18) Assessments*. [online]. Available at: http://www.aseba.org/schoolage.html [Accessed 09 January 2016].

ASER, 2015. *Annual Status of Education Report 2014*. Lahore: SAFED.

Ashraf, N., 2009. The Islamization of Pakistan's Educational System: 1979-1989. In The Middle East Institute, 2009. *The Islamization of Pakistan 1979-2009*. Washington DC: The Middle East Institute, pp.25-27.

Aslam, M., Bari, F. and Kingdon, G., 2008. Returns to Schooling, Ability and Cognitive Skills in Pakistan. *RECOUP*. Working Paper No. 20.

Barbu S., Cabanes, G. and Le Maner-Idrissi, G., 2011. Boys and Girls on the Playground: Sex Differences in Social Development are not stable across Early Childhood. *PLoS One*, 6(1), pp. 1-7.

Bellanca, N. and Biggeri, M., 2013. Capabilities and Human Dilemmas: How to Cope with Incompleteness. *Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Economiche e dell'Impresa, Università degli Studi di Firenze Working Paper Series*. Working Paper No. 08.

Bengali, K., 1999. History of Educational Policy Making and Planning in Pakistan. *Sustainable Development Policy Institute*. Working Paper Series No. 40.

Benz, A., 2012. The Crisis of School Education in Pakistan. Of Government's Failure and New Hopes in the Growing Private Education Sector. *International Quarterly for Asian Studies*, 43 (3-4), pp. 223-244.

BERA, 2011. Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research. [pdf] BERA. Available at: https://www.bera.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/BERA-Ethical-Guidelines-2011.pdf?noredirect=1 [Accessed 25 October 2017].

Bhatti, F., Malik, R. and Naveed, A., 2011. Insights from a Quantitative Survey in Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. *RECOUP*. Working Paper No. 39.

Biggeri, M., 2007. Children's Valued Capabilities. In M. Walker, and E. Unterhalter. (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.197-214.

Biggeri, M., Ballet, J., and Comim, F. (Eds), 2011. *Children and the Capability Approach.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Biggeri, M. and Libanora, R., 2011. From Valuing to Evaluating: Tools and Procedures to

Operationalize the Capability Approach. In M. Biggeri, J. Ballet, and F. Comim. (Eds), 2011. *Children and the Capability Approach.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.79-106.

Biggeri, M. and Santi, M., 2012. The Missing Dimensions of Children's Well-being and Well-becoming in Education Systems: Capabilities and Philosophy for Children. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, *13*(3), pp.373-395.

Brighouse, H., 2000. *School Choice and Social Justice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brunello, G. and Schlotter, M., 2011. Non-Cognitive Skills and Personality Traits: Labour Market Relevance and their Development in Education & Training Systems. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*. DP No. 5743.

Burchardt, T., 2009. Agency Goals, Adaptation and Capability Sets. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 10(1), pp. 3-19.

Cameron, A.C. and Trivedi, P.K., 2010. *Microeconometrics Using Stata.* Texas: Stata Press.

Cicirelli, V., Granger, R., Schemmel, D., Cooper, W., Helms, D., Holthouse, N. and Nehls, J., 1971. Measures of Self-Concept, Attitudes, and Achievement Motivation of Primary Grade Children. *Journal of School Psychology*, 9 (4), pp. 383-392.

Clark, D.A., and Qizilbash, M., 2008. Core Poverty, Vagueness and Adaptation: A New Methodology and Some Results for South Africa. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 44 (4), pp.519-544.

Clark, D. A., 2005. The Capability Approach: Its Development, Critiques and Recent Advances. *Global Poverty Research Group.* GPRG Working Paper Series No. 32.

Clark, D.A., 2003. Concepts and Perceptions of Human Well-being: Some Evidence from South Africa. *Oxford Development Studies*, 31 (2), pp.173-196.

Comim, F., 2014. Building Capabilities: A New Paradigm for Human Development. In F. Comim, F. and M. C. Nussbaum (Eds), 2014. *Capabilities, Gender, Equality: Towards Fundamental Entitlements.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.131-155.

Comim, F., 2009. Assessing Children's Capabilities: Operationalizing Metrics For Evaluating Music Programs with Poor Children in Brazilian Primary Schools. In R. Gotoh, and P. Dumouchel (Eds), 2009. *Against Injustice: The New Economics of Amartya Sen.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 252-274.

Comim, F., 2008. Measuring Capabilities. In F. Comim, M. Qizilbash, and S. Alkire (Eds), 2008. *The Capability Approach – Concepts, Measures and Applications.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.157-200.

Cornwell, C., Mustard, D. and Parys, J., 2011. Non-cognitive Skills and the Gender Disparities in Test Scores and Teacher Assessments: Evidence from Primary School. *IZA Discussion Paper Series*. DP No. 5973.

Creswell, J.W., 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods*

Approaches. CA: Sage Publications.

Creswell, J.W. and Plano Clark, V.L., 2011. *Designing and Conducting Mixed Methods Research*. CA: Sage Publications.

Cunha, F. and Heckman, J., 2007. The Technology of Skill Formation. *American Economic Review,* 97 (2), pp. 31-47.

Cuong, N.V. and Linh, V.H., 2016. Should Parents Work Away From or Close to Home?. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities,* 17 (1), pp. 110 – 124.

Cutts, E.H., 1953. The Background of Macaulay's Minute. *The American Historical Review,* 58 (4), pp. 824-853.

De Coulon, A., Meschi, E. and Vignoles, A., 2011. Parents' Skills and Children's Cognitive and Non-cognitive Outcomes. *Education Economics*, 19 (5), pp.451-474.

Duflo, E., 2012. Lack of Hope and the Persistence of Poverty, *Marshall Lecture 2012*. University of Cambridge. 9 November 2012.

Estrella, M., 2000. Learning from Change. In M. Estrella et al. (Eds), 2000. *Learning from Change: Issues and Experiences in Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications, pp.1-14.

Flores-Crespo, P., 2007. Situating Education in the Human Capabilities Approach. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p.45-66.

Friese, S., 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis with Atlas.ti*. London: Sage Publications.

Gasper, D., 2004. *The Ethics of Development*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Ginther, D., 2010. An Interview with James J. Heckman. *Macroeconomic Dynamics*, 14, pp. 548-584.

Goldman, B.A. and Busch, J.C., 1978. *Directory of Unpublished Experimental Mental Measures Volume 2*. New York: Human Sciences Press.

Goldman, B.A. and Saunders, J.L., 1978. *Directory of Unpublished Experimental Mental Measures Volume 1*. New York: Behavioral Publications.

GoP, 2013. *PSLM 2011-12*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/pslm/publications/pslm2011-12/complete_report_pslm11_12.pdf [Accessed 09 October 2016].

GoPb, 2013. *Punjab Development Statistics 2013*. [online]. Available at: http://www.bos.gop.pk/system/files/Dev-2013.pdf [Accessed 26 October 2017].

Guardian, 2003. Amartya Sen: The Importance of Basic Education – Full Text of Amartya Sen's Speech to the Commonwealth Education Conference. *The Guardian*, [online] 28

October. Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/education/2003/oct/28/schools.uk4 [Accessed 06 October 2015].

Gutman, L. and Schoon, I., 2013. The Impact of Non-cognitive Skills on Outcomes for Young People. [pdf] Education Endowment Fund. Available at: https://v1.educationendowmentfoundation.org.uk/uploads/pdf/Non-cognitive_skills_literature_review_2.pdf [Accessed 06 October 2016].

Habib, M., 2013. Education in Pakistan's Punjab: Outcomes and Interventions. *The Lahore Journal of Economics*, 18 (SE), pp. 21-48.

Hamid, S.,1993. A Micro Analysis of Demand-side Determinants of Schooling in Urban Pakistan. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 32 (4), pp.713–723.

Hammad, T. and Singal, N., 2015. Education of Women with Disabilities in Pakistan: Enhanced Agency, Unfulfilled Aspirations. *International Journal of Exclusive Education*, 19 (12), pp. 1244 – 1264.

Hart, C.S., 2016. How Do Aspirations Matter?. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 17 (3), pp.324-241.

Hart, C.S., 2012. Editorial: The Capability Approach and Education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42 (3), pp.275-282.

HDRC, 2012. Violence and Sexual Abuse in Schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan. [pdf] HDRC. Available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08a5aed915d622c0006bb/Violence-and-Abuse-in-Schools-November-20121.pdf [Accessed 29 September 2016].

Heckman, J. and Kautz, T., 2013. Fostering and Measuring Skills: Interventions that Improve Character and Cognition. *National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Working Paper Series*. Working Paper No. 19656.

Heckman, J. and Kautz, T., 2012. Hard Evidence on Soft Skills. *National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER) Working Paper Series*. Working Paper No. 18121.

Heckman, J. J., 2008. The Case for Investing in Disadvantaged Young Children. *Big Ideas for Children: Investing in Our Nation's Future*, pp.49-58.

Hedge, N. and MacKenzie, A., 2012. Putting Nussbaum's Capability Approach to Work: Re-visiting Inclusion. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42 (3), pp.327-344.

Hirai, T., 2011. *Human Development: History, Concept and Measurement*. PhD. University of Cambridge.

Hsin, A. and Xie, Y, 2012. Hard Skills, Soft Skills: The Relative Roles of Cognitive and Non-cognitive Skills in Intergenerational Social Mobility. *Population Studies Center Research Reports*. Report 12-755.

Ibrahim, S., 2016. Articulating Capabilities over Time: Challenges, Choices and Changes. *Cambridge Capability Conference.* University of Cambridge. 13-14 June 2016.

ICAI, 2012. *Evaluation of DFID's Bilateral Trade to Pakistan*. [pdf] ICAI. Available at: https://www.oecd.org/countries/pakistan/ICAI%20Pakistan%20Report_P1.pdf [Accessed 20 September 2013].

Ikesako, H. and Miyamoto, K., 2015. Fostering Social and Emotional Skills through Families, Schools and Communities: Summary of International Evidence and Implication for Japan's Educational Practices and Research. *OECD Education Working Papers*. Working Paper No. 121.

ILO, 1977. *Employment, Growth and Basic Needs: A One-Word Problem*. New York: Praeger Publishers.

I-SAPS, 2010. *Private Sector Education in Pakistan: Mapping and Musing*. Islamabad: I-SAPS.

Jayanthi, M. and Nelson, J.S., 2001. *Savvy Decision Making: An Administrator's Guide to Using Focus Groups in Schools*. California: Corwin Press.

Jones, D., & Jones, R., 1977. Nationalizing Education in Pakistan: Teachers' Associations and the People's Party. *Pacific Affairs*, 50(4), pp. 581-603.

Kautz, T., Heckman, J., Diris, R., Ter Weel, B., and Borghans, L., 2014. Fostering and Measuring Skills: Improving Cognitive and Non-Cognitive Skills to Promote Lifetime Success. *NBER Working Paper Series*. Working Paper No. 20749.

Kelly, A., 2012. Sen and the Art of Educational Maintenance: Evidencing a Capability, as Opposed to an Effectiveness, Approach to Schooling. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42 (3), pp.283-296.

Khan, A., & Mahmood, N., 1997. Education in Pakistan: Fifty Years of Neglect [with Comments]. *The Pakistan Development Review*, 36(4), pp. 647-667.

Kreuger, A., 1999. Experimental Estimates of Education Production Functions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 114 (2), pp. 497-532.

Lall, M., 2012. Why Education Matters: School 'Choice' and Differing Views on Citizenship in Pakistan. *Citizenship Studies*, 16 (2), pp.269-286.

LEAPS, 2008. *LEAPS Report Summary – Insights to Inform the Education Policy Debate*. [pdf] LEAPS. Available at: http://www.leapsproject.org/assets/publications/leaps_brief.pdf [Accessed 25 September, 2016].

MacCallum, R., Zhang, S., Preacher, K. J. and Rucker, D. D., 2002. On the Practice of Dichotomization of Quantitative Variables. *Psychological Methods*, 7 (1), pp. 19-40.

Maguire, L. K., Niens, U., McCann, M. and Connolly, P., 2016. Emotional Development among Early School-Age Children: Gender Differences in the Role of Problem Behaviours. *Educational Psychology,* 36 (8), pp. 1408-1428.

Maguire, C., Donovan, C., Mishook, J., De Gaillande, G., and Garcia, I., 2012. Choosing a Life One Has Reason to Value: The Role of the Arts in Fostering Capability Development in Four Small Urban High Schools. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42 (3), pp. 367-390.

Malik, R., 2014. *Exits, Voices and Social Inequality: A Mixed Methods Study of School Choice and Parental Participation in Pakistan.* PhD. University of Cambridge.

Malik, R. and Naveed, A., 2012. Financing Education in Pakistan: The Impact of Public Expenditure and Aid on Educational Outcomes. *RECOUP*. Working Paper No. 42.

Mallick, A.R., 1961. *British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal*. Dacca: Asiatic Society of Pakistan.

McCowan, T. 2011. Human Rights, Capabilities and the Normative Basis of 'Education for All'. *Theory and Research in Education,* 9 (3), pp. 283–298.

McCowan, T., 2010. Reframing the Universal Right to Education. *Comparative Education,* 46 (4), pp.509-525.

McCowan, T., 2009. A' Seamless' Enactment of Citizenship Education. *Journal of Philosophy of Education,* 43 (1), pp.85-99.

McLanahan, S., 2004. Diverging Destinies: How Children are Faring Under the Second Demographic Transition. *Demography*, 41(4), pp.607-627.

Mehrotra, S. and Biggeri, M., 2010. Children in Homeworker Households in Pakistan and Indonesia. *International Journal of Manpower,* 31 (2), pp.208-231.

Meredith, J., 2008. *Perceived Emotional Competence and Emotion Appraisal Skills in Middle Childhood in Typically Developing and Behaviourally Challenged Children*. PhD. Middlesex University.

Meshkat, M. and Nejati, R., 2017. Does Emotional Intelligence Depend on Gender? A Study on Undergraduate English Majors of Three Iranian Universities. *SAGE Open,* Jul-Sept., pp. 1-8.

MHHDC, 2015. *Growth without Human Development: Pakistan's Experience over the Past Three Decades, 1980-2010*. [pdf] MHHDC. Available at: http://mhhdc.org/wp-content/themes/mhdc/data/publications/Growth_without_Human_Development.pdf [Accessed 23 September 2016].

MoE, 2009. *National Education Policy 2009.* Islamabad: MoE, Government of Pakistan.

MoE, 1998. *National Education Policy 1998-2010.* [pdf] MoE, GoP. Available at: http://ebookbrowse.com/pakistan-educational-policy-1998-2010-pdf-d14216993 [Accessed

02 May 2013].

MoF, 2017. *Pakistan Economic Survey 2016-17*. [online]. Available at: http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey_1617.html [Accessed 25 October 2017].

MoF, 2015. *Pakistan Economic Survey 2014-15*. [online]. Available at: http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey_1415.html [Accessed 23 September 2016].

MoF, 2014. *Pakistan Economic Survey 2013-14*. [online]. Available at: http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey_1314.html [Accessed 25 October 2017].

MoF, 2010. *Pakistan Economic Survey 2009-10*. [online]. Available at: http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey_0910.html [Accessed 25 October 2017].

MoF, 2009. *Pakistan Economic Survey 2008-09*. [online]. Available at: http://www.finance.gov.pk/survey_0809.html [Accessed 25 October 2017].

Mohapatra, B., 2003. *Going to School in the Raj: Primary Education in India (1803-1903)*. Bhubaneswar: V.B. Shastry.

Morrison, A. and McIntyre, D., 1971. *Schools and Socialization*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Naghavi, F. and Redzuan, M., 2011. The Relationship between Gender and Emotional Intelligence. *World Applied Sciences Journal*, 15 (4), pp. 555-561.

Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P., 1951. *A History of Education in India*. Bombay: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

Nussbaum, M.C., 2013. *Political Emotions – Why Love Matters for Justice*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M.C., 2011. *Creating Capabilities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. C., 2010. *Not for Profit: Why Democracies Need the Humanities*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Nussbaum, M., 2006. Education and Democratic Citizenship: Capabilities and Quality Education. *Journal of Human Development*, 7 (3), pp.385-395.

Nussbaum, M. C., 2000. *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nussbaum, M.C., 1998. *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

OECD, 2015. *Skills for Social Progress: The Power of Social and Emotional Skills*. [online]. Available at: http://www.oecd.org/edu/skills-for-social-progress-9789264226159-en.htm [Accessed 09 January 2016].

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., and Collins, K. M., 2007. A Typology of Mixed Methods Sampling Designs in Social Science Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 12 (2), pp. 281-316.

PC, 2015. *Pakistan Vision 2025*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/ [Accessed 13 September 2016].

PC, 2005. *Medium Term Development Framework 2005-2010*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/mtdf.html [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, 1994. *Eighth Five Year Plan 1993-1998*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear8th.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, 1978. *Fifth Five Year Plan 1978-1983 Volume I*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear5thv1.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, 1977. *Fifth Five Year Plan 1977-1982 Volume II*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear5thv2.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, 1960. *Second Five Year Plan 1960-65*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear2nd.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, n.d.a. *First Five Year Plan 1955-60*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear1st.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, n.d.b. *Third Five Year Plan 1965-70*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear3rd.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, n.d.c. *Fourth Five Year Plan 1971-76*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear4th.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, n.d.d. *Sixth Five Year Plan 1983-1988*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear6th.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PC, n.d.e. *Seventh Five Year Plan 1988-1993*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pc.gov.pk/fiveyear7th.htm [Accessed 02 May 2013].

PEC, 2009. Grade 5 Examination 2009 Report Advice for Teachers: A Data Based Approach to Improve Teaching and Learning. *UNICEF*.

PESRP, 2012. *Annual School Census Data 2012*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pesrp.edu.pk/datacenter [Accessed 03 January 2018].

PETF, 2011. *Education Emergency Pakistan 2011*. [pdf] PETF. Available at: http://educationemergency.com.pk/wp-content/uploads/EE-Killer-Facts-English.pdf [Accessed 24 April 2013].

Punch, K. F., 2005. *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. London: Sage Publications.

Rahim, A., 1992. The Political Economy of English Education in Muslim Bengal: 1817-

1912. *Comparative Education Review*, 36 (3), pp.309-321.

Rahman, T., 2005. Passports to Privilege: The English Medium Schools in Pakistan. *Peace and Democracy*, 1(1), pp. 24-44.

Ranis, G. and Stewart, F., 2005. *The Priority of Human Development*. [online] Available at: http://www.econ.yale.edu/~granis/papers/priority-of-human-develop-2005.pdf [Accessed 25 October 2017].

Raynor, J., 2007. Education and Capabilities in Bangladesh. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 157-176.

Robeyns, I., 2006. Three Models of Education: Rights, Capabilities and Human Capital. *Theory and Research in Education*, 4 (69), pp.69-84.

Robeyns, I., 2002. Sen's Capability Approach and Gender Inequality. *Conference Proceedings – Promoting Women's Capabilities: Examining Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach*. University of Cambridge. 9-10 September 2002.

Rosen, J.A., Glennie, E. J., Dalton, B.W., Lennon, J.M., and Bozick, R.N., 2010. Non-cognitive Skills in the Classroom: New Perspectives on Educational Research. [pdf] RTI International. Available at: https://www.rti.org/pubs/bk-0004-1009-rosen.pdf [Accessed: 06 October 2015].

Sabatelli, R. M. and Anderson, S. A., 2005. *Assessing Outcomes in Child and Youth Programs: A Practical Handbook*. Connecticut: Office of Policy and Management.

Saigol, R., 2003. *Becoming a Modern Nation: Educational Discourse in the Early Years of Ayub Khan (1958-64)*. Islamabad: COSS.

Sen, A., 2009. *The Idea of Justice*. London: Penguin Books.

Sen, A., 2005. Human Rights and Capabilities. *Journal of Human Development*, 6(2), pp.151-166.

Sen, A., 1999a. *Development as Freedom.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A.,1999b. *Commodities and Capabilities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A., 1992. *Inequality Reexamined.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A., 1985a. Well-being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures 1984. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4), pp.169-221.Sen, A., 1985b. *Commodities and Capabilities*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Sen, A., 1979. Equality of What? *The Tanner Lecture on Human Values*. Stanford University, May 22.

Sevea, I., 2011. Schooling the Muslim Nation : Muhammad Iqbal and Debates over Muslim

Education in Colonial India. *South Asia Research,* 31 (69), pp.69-86.

Shamim, F., 2011. English as the Language for Development in Pakistan: Issues, Challenges and Possible Solutions. In H. Coleman (Ed), 2011. *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language*. London: British Council, pp.291-310.

Silles, M.A., 2011. The Intergenerational Effects of Parental Schooling on the Cognitive and Non-Cognitive Development of Children. *Economics of Education Review,* 30 (2), pp. 258-268.

STATA, 2013a. Alpha – Compute Interitem Correlations (Covariances) and Cronbach's Alpha. [pdf] *STATA*. Available at: http://www.stata.com/manuals13/mvalpha.pdf Accessed [06 October 2016].

STATA, 2013b. Working with Categorical Data and Factor Variables (Manuals, Section 25). [pdf] *STATA*. Available at: http://www.stata.com/manuals13/u25.pdf Accessed [03 October 2016].

Stewart, F., 1985. *Planning to Meet Basic Needs*. London: Macmillan.
Streeten, P., 1981. *First Things First: Meeting Basic Human Needs in the Developing Countries*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Streeten, P., 1979. Basic Needs: Premises and Promises. *Journal of Policy Modeling,* 1 (1), pp.136-146.

Sugden, R., 1993. Welfare, Resources, and Capabilities: A Review of Inequality Reexamined by Amartya Sen. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 31 (4), pp.1947-1962.

Sultan, A., 2011. The Mirror and the Lamp: Colonial Educational Reform in 19th Century Punjab. *Lahore Journal of Policy Studies,* 4(1), pp.7-20.

Tamim, T., 2009. *Capability Development: A Sociological Study of Languages in Education in Pakistan*. PhD. University of Cambridge.

Terzi, L., 2007. The Capability to be Educated. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.25-43.

The Honourable Court of Directors, 1833. *Appendix to the Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company and Minutes of Evidence.* London: J.L.Cox and Son.

Thorpe, C.L.,1965. *Education and the Development of Muslim Nationalism in Pre-Partition India.* Karachi: Pakistan Historical Society.

Tikly, L. and Barrett, A. M. 2009. Social Justice, Capabilities and the Quality of Education in Low Income Countries. *EdQual*. Working Paper No. 18.

Trani, J.F. et al. 2012. 'Delivering' Education; Maintaining Inequality. The Case of Children with Disabilities in Afghanistan. *Cambridge Journal of Education,* 42(3), pp.345-366.

UKDataService, 2014. *Education*. [online]. Available at https://www.ukdataservice.ac.uk/get-data/themes/education [Accessed 09 January 2016].

Ul Haq, M., 1995a. *Reflections on Human Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ul Haq, M., 1995b. The Human Development Paradigm. In Secondi, G. (Ed), 2008. *The Development Economics Reader*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 28-33.

UNDP, 2016. *Multidimensional Poverty in Pakistan*. [online]. Available at: http://www.pk.undp.org/content/pakistan/en/home/library/hiv_aids/Multidimensional-Poverty-in-Pakistan.html [Accessed 23 September 2016].

UNDP, 2015. *Human Development Report 2015 – Work for Human Development*. [pdf] UNDP. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2015_human_development_report.pdf [Accessed 23 September 2016].

UNDP, 2010. *The Real Wealth of Nations: Pathways to Human Development.* [pdf] UNDP. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/270/hdr_2010_en_complete_reprint.pdf [Accessed 26 September 2016].

UNDP, 1990. *Human Development Report 1990.* [pdf] UNDP. Available at: http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/reports/219/hdr_1990_en_complete_nostats.pdf [Accessed 26 September 2016].

UNESCO, 2012. *Education in Pakistan – Fact Sheet.* [pdf] UNESCO. Available at: http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/ED/pdf/EDUCATION_IN_PAKISTAN__A_FACT_SHEET.pdf [Accessed 23 September 2016].

Unterhalter, E., 2015. Policy Transfer and the GEGPRI Project, *CDS Guest Lecture*. University of Cambridge. Cambridge, 27 February 2015.

Unterhalter, E., 2013. Educating Capabilities. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14 (1), pp.185-188.

Unterhalter, E., 2012. Inequality, Capabilities and Poverty in Four African Countries: Girls' Schooling, and Strategies for Institutional Change. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 42 (3), pp.307-326.

Unterhalter, E., 2009. Education. In S. Deneulin and L. Shahani (Eds), 2009. *An Introduction to the Human Development and Capability Approach.* London: Earthscan, pp.207-227.

Unterhalter, E. and Brighouse, H., 2007. Distribution of What for Social Justice in Education? The Case of Education for All by 2015. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 67-86.

Unterhalter, E., 2003a. Education, Capabilities and Social Justice. *Paper Commissioned for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2003/04, The Leap to Equality.*

Unterhalter, E., 2003b. The Capabilities Approach and Gendered Education: An Examination of South African Complexities. *Theory and Research in Education*, 1 (1), pp. 7-22.

UNWomen, 2018. *Concepts and Definitions* [online]. Available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsandefinitions.htm [Accessed 31 January 2018].

Vaughan, R.P., 2007. Measuring Capabilities: An Example from Girls' Schooling. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.109-130.

Vaughan, R.P. and Walker, M., 2012. Capabilities, Values and Education Policy. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 13 (3), pp. 495-512.

Walker, M., 2007. Selecting Capabilities for Gender Equality in Education. In M. Walker and E. Unterhalter (Eds), 2007. *Amartya Sen's Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 177-196.

Walker, M., 2004. Insights from and for Education: The Capability Approach and South African Girls' Lives and Learning. *The 4th International Capability Approach Conference*. University of Pavia, Italy. 4-7 September 2004.

Walker, M., 2003. Framing Social Justice in Education: What Does the 'Capabilities' Approach Offer?. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 51 (2), pp.168-187.

Warwick, D.P. and Reimers, F., 1995. *Hope or Despair?: Learning in Pakistan's Primary Schools*. Westport (Connecticut): Praeger.

Warwick, D.P. and Reimers, F.1991. Primary School Completion in Pakistan. *Education Series, Harvard Institute for International Development*. Issue No. 398.

WB, 2017. *Government Expenditure on Education, Total (%)*. Available at: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS?locations=PK [Accessed 25 October 2017].

WB, 2016a. *Health Nutrition and Population Statistics: Population Estimates and Projections*. [online]. Available at: http://databank.worldbank.org/data/reports.aspx?source=Health%20Nutrition%20and%20Population%20Statistics%3A%20Population%20estimates%20and%20projections [Accessed 08 October 2016].

WB, 2016b. *GDP Per Capita (Constant 2010 US$) Pakistan 1960-2015*. [online]. Available at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.KD?locations=PK [Accessed 23 September 2016].

WB, 2016c. *Population, Total 1960-2015*. [online]. Available at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL [Accessed 23 September 2016].

WB, 2013. *Population Projection Tables by Country and Group*. [online]. Available at: http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/TOPICS/EXTHEALTHNUTRITIONANDPOPULATION/EXTDATASTATISTICSHNP/EXTHNPSTATS/0,,contentMDK:21737699~

menuPK:3385623~pagePK:64168445~piPK:64168309~theSitePK:3237118~isCURL:Y,00.html [Accessed 24 April 2013].

Wolff, J. and De-Shalit, A., 2013. On Fertile Functionings: A Response to Martha Nussbaum. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 14 (1), pp.161-165.

Wooldridge, J.M., 2009. *Introductory Econometrics: A Modern Approach*. Canada: South Western Cengage Learning.

Yaqub, S., 2008. Capabilities Over the Lifecourse: At What Age Does Poverty Damage Most? In F. Comim, M. Qizilbash and S. Alkire (Eds), 2008. *The Capability Approach – Concepts, Measures and Applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 437-457.

Ysander, B., 1993. Robert Erikson: Descriptions of Inequality. In M. Nussbaum and A. Sen, 1993. *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Appendices

Appendix: Chapter 3

Appendix 3A: Sample Script (Focus Groups with Parents)

As Salam-o-Alaikum (greetings) everyone,

Thank you very much for being here today. I understand how difficult it is for you to spare time from your busy routines and step out in this scorching heat, and want you to know how much I appreciate your time and effort in sharing your views about your child's education with me today.

Let me introduce myself. My name is Amna Ansari. I am a PhD student at a university abroad. My study involves some research in education for which I will be conducting our group discussion today.

Today, I would like to discuss some of the things you value in your child's education, some of the things you had expected him/her to be and do when you admitted him/her to school. The discussion will commence with a brief introduction of everyone followed by some questions to inform my research. Your views will help me identify some important elements in the education of children your child's age, and allow me a chance to measure and compare them in children across different types of schooling in Lahore. Please be assured that your opinions will not be shared with the school management or anyone else and will only be used for the purpose of my research.

I will be taking some notes during the discussion to keep track of your comments. Also, to ensure that I do not miss anything important, I will be using a voice recorder to record your views and listen to them later. Again, please be assured that no one except me will have access to this recording. I hope that you will not hesitate in being open and honest in your responses.

<u>Questions</u>

Warm-up Question: I believe a good starting point for today's discussion is a brief introduction about you and your child. If each one of you could share with me some details like how long have you lived in this city, how long has your child studied in this school, and why you chose to enrol him/her at this school (school name)?
[Information sought: Factors influencing school choice; switch between schools/school types.]

It is very interesting to know your stories. Now that we know each other better, let's discuss some things about your child's education:

Q1. What do you feel education should enable your child to be and do?
[Explain the concept of 'capabilities' in simple words. Do not prompt.]

Q2. Do you feel some of these things are best provided by your chosen form of schooling (Public/private/religious)?
[Take note of possible prioritization/ rankings and weightings.
Q3. Do you think other types of schools are better at providing some other things?

Q4. Do you feel there are certain things you value in education but none of the prevalent forms of schooling in Pakistan are fostering?

Q5. Finally, is there anything you would like to add or ask regarding our discussion today?

Thank you very much for being part of today's group discussion. As I said earlier, your inputs will help me identify and compare some important elements among children in different types of schools in Lahore.

If you wish to share anything else with me or follow up on this study, please feel free to contact me at (phone no. / business card). Once again, thank you very much.

Allah Hafiz (goodbye).

Appendix 3B: Children's Capabilities Questionnaire

Questionnaire

For Researcher's Use:

Name of child:_____ Household ID: _____

Name of school:_____ Date: _____

-

The next few pages have some sentences about you and your school.
We would like you to tell us how you feel about them.
You can do this by marking them out of 5.
For example:

		LOWEST---------- HIGHEST				
	I am late to school	1	2	3	4	5

If you are never late to school, this sentence is not true for you. So you mark it the lowest, 1.
If you are always late to school, this sentence is true for you. So you mark it the highest, 5.

For everything in between, you can mark 2 or 3 or 4.

For example, if you are hardly late to school, tick 2.

If you are sometimes late to school, tick 3.

If you are often late to school, tick 4.

My school

1. My school is English medium	Yes	No	Maybe, not sure
2. My school has a library where I can read books	Yes	No	Maybe, not sure
3. My school has a ground where I can play	Yes	No	Maybe, not sure
4. My school has swings that can I play at	Yes	No	Maybe, not sure

		LOWEST---------- HIGHEST				
5.	I like going to school	1	2	3	4	5
6.	I feel safe at my school	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Attending school makes me desire a good education	1	2	3	4	5
8.	I feel by going to school, I can become someone big on growing up	1	2	3	4	5

9.	My school has many sports for children of my age	1	2	3	4	5
10.	My school has a lot of events e.g. competitions, trips, parties etc.	1	2	3	4	5
11.	My school tries to keep its students safe	1	2	3	4	5
12.	My school teaches me to care for others	1	2	3	4	5
13.	My school teaches me what is right and what is wrong	1	2	3	4	5
14.	My school teaches me good manners such as how to behave with others	1	2	3	4	5
15.	My school teaches me good values e.g. telling the truth, listening to elders and so on	1	2	3	4	5
16.	My school teaches me to treat people of other religions nicely	1	2	3	4	5
17.	My school gives me confidence	1	2	3	4	5

My teachers

		LOWEST---------- HIGHEST				
18.	My teachers encourage me to study better	1	2	3	4	5
19.	My teachers encourage me to ask questions	1	2	3	4	5
20.	My teachers give me enough attention in class	1	2	3	4	5
21.	My teachers make studies interesting	1	2	3	4	5
22.	My teachers explain things well in class	1	2	3	4	5
23.	My teachers teach in English	1	2	3	4	5
24.	I am able to understand what is taught in class	1	2	3	4	5
25.	I understand my teachers' language in the classroom	1	2	3	4	5
26.	I feel loved by my teachers	1	2	3	4	5
27.	My teachers encourage me to participate in school activities	1	2	3	4	5

28.	My teachers try to make me friends with other children in class	1	2	3	4	5
29.	I fear if I ask a question a second or third time, my teacher will be angry	1	2	3	4	5
30.	I feel teachers in my class punish really harshly	1	2	3	4	5
31.	I think teachers should be allowed to hit children when they do something wrong	1	2	3	4	5
32.	My teachers shout at me	1	2	3	4	5
33.	I get hit by teachers	1	2	3	4	5
34.	I am afraid of getting hit by teachers	1	2	3	4	5

Me and my class

		LOWEST---------- HIGHEST				
35.	Most of my class fellows are friendly with others	1	2	3	4	5
36.	I find it difficult to make friends at school	1	2	3	4	5
37.	It upsets me to see a class fellow sad or upset	1	2	3	4	5
38.	When a class fellow is sad or upset, I can feel what he/she must be going through	1	2	3	4	5
39.	I have my thoughts about most things e.g. if something is right or wrong, good or bad etc.	1	2	3	4	5
40.	I find it easy to share my thoughts with others at school	1	2	3	4	5
41.	My class fellows and teachers are interested to hear what I say	1	2	3	4	5
42.	Children in my class hit each other when they fight	1	2	3	4	5
43.	I feel afraid of other class fellows hitting me	1	2	3	4	5
44.	I get hit by children in my class	1	2	3	4	5
45.	I feel if a class fellow is of a different religion, we can still be friends	1	2	3	4	5
46.	I get punished before the entire class	1	2	3	4	5

47.	My class fellows tease or make fun of me	1	2	3	4	5
48.	My class fellows call me rude names	1	2	3	4	5

Play at school

		LOWEST---------- HIGHEST				
49.	I feel my school has enough space for play	1	2	3	4	5
50.	I have enough time to play at home after completing my homework and studies	1	2	3	4	5
51.	I feel girls' play should be separate from boys' play	1	2	3	4	5
52.	I feel play is a waste of time	1	2	3	4	5
53.	I am able to participate in the school sports of my choice	1	2	3	4	5

Some general questions

		LOWEST---------- HIGHEST				
54.	I wish to become someone when I grow up	1	2	3	4	5
55.	I feel interested to learn what is being taught in class	1	2	3	4	5
56.	I am able to read	1	2	3	4	5
57.	I am able to learn about my religion at school	1	2	3	4	5
58.	I am able to learn about other religions at school	1	2	3	4	5
59.	My school has various religious activities e.g. daily prayer chart, religious events etc.	1	2	3	4	5
60.	I get chances to read in class	1	2	3	4	5
61.	I am able to understand English	1	2	3	4	5
62.	I am able to speak English	1	2	3	4	5
63.	When I read something, I have to read it a second or third time to understand it	1	2	3	4	5

On the next two pages, some sentences will appear in a table.

They are divided into two parts with a 'BUT'. For example:

	True for me				True for me
	☐	Some kids enjoy going to school	BUT	Some kids do not enjoy going to school	☐

For each sentence, decide which side is true for you.

For example, if you do not enjoy going to school, you would mark the right hand box.

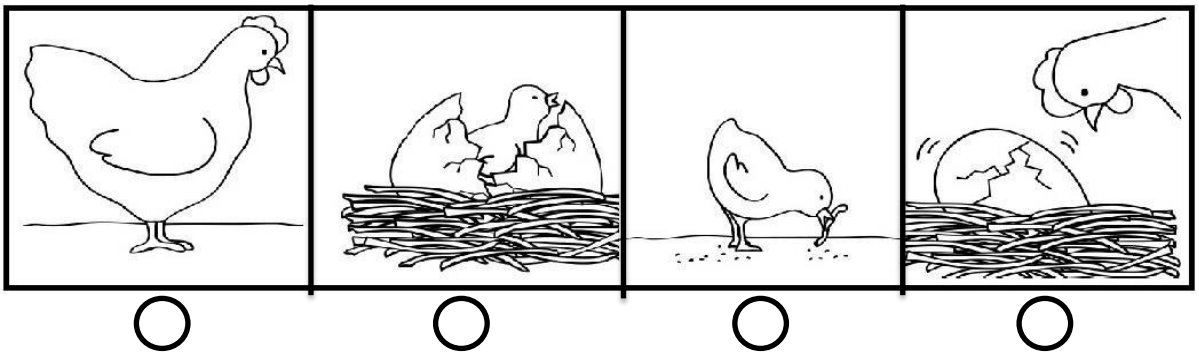
But remember, you can only choose ONE answer for each sentence!

	True for me	Choose only ONE answer for each sentence			True for me
64.	☐	Some kids think about their future	BUT	Some kids do not think about their future	☐
65.	☐	Some kids can tell what is right and what is wrong	BUT	Some kids cannot tell what is right and what is wrong	☐
66.	☐	Some kids are confident	BUT	Some kids are not so confident	☐
67.	☐	Some kids tend to learn things by heart without understanding their meaning	BUT	Some kids do not tend to learn things by heart without understanding their meaning	☐
68.	☐	Some kids get to learn English at school	BUT	Some kids do not get to learn English at school	☐
69.	☐	Some kids are keen to learn new things	BUT	Some kids are not too keen to learn new things	☐
70.	☐	Some kids want to study in class	BUT	Some kids do not really want to study in class	☐
71.	☐	Some kids ask a lot of questions in class	BUT	Some kids do not ask a lot of questions in class	☐

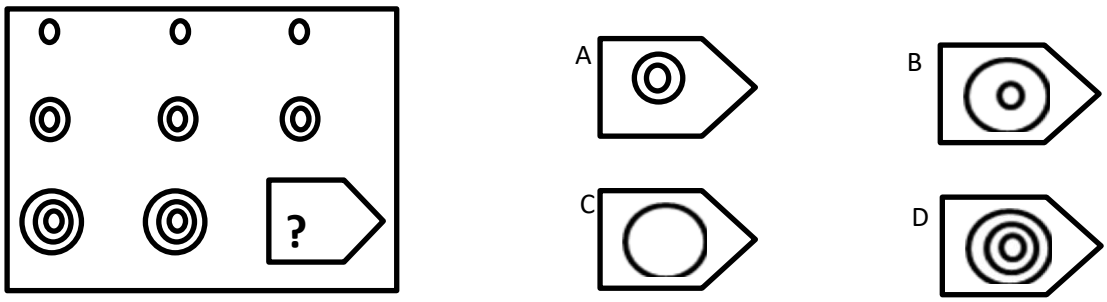
72.	☐	Some kids are well-behaved	BUT	Some kids are not so well-behaved	☐
73.	☐	Some kids have good friends at school	BUT	Some kids do not have good friends at school	☐
74.	☐	Some kids get angry and pick fights easily	BUT	Some kids do not get angry and pick fights easily	☐
75.	☐	Some kids are keen to learn about their religion	BUT	Some kids are not too keen to learn about their religion	☐
76.	☐	Some kids have good values (e.g. they tell the truth, obey their elders etc.)	BUT	Some kids do not have good values	☐

Here are some fun questions.
See if you can answer them.

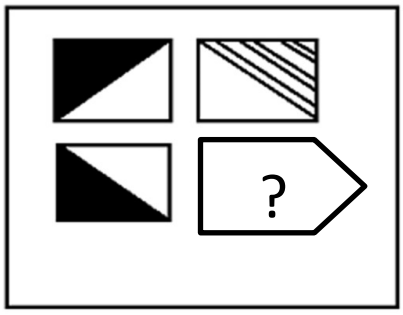
1. Can you put the following images in order? (Label the circles below 1,2,3,4 in your chosen order)

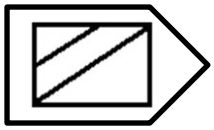


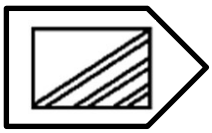
2. Find the missing picture. Choose from the options on the right:

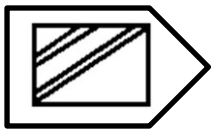


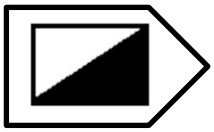
3. Find the missing picture. Choose from the options on the right:



A 

B 

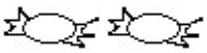
C 

D 

4. You take 12 colour pencils to school.
Your best friend takes one of them.
Another falls on the floor and gets lost.
How many colour pencils are you left with?

Answer: _____

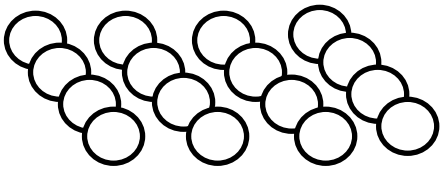
5. You visit a shop to buy toffees. The shopkeeper says you can buy 2 toffees for Rs. 10. How many toffees can you buy with Rs. 20?

Rs. 10 = 

Rs. 20 = ?

Answer: _____

6. You have 16 marbles.
You decide to give half of them to your friend.



How many marbles will your friend get?

Answer: _____

Thank You! ☺ The questionnaire ends here.

Did you have fun filling this questionnaire? Yes No Not sure

Appendix 3C: Household Survey

Household Level Questionnaire

Household ID:

Household Questionnaire Sections 1-8:

Section 1

1. District Name (DISTNAME): ……..
2. Village/Town Name (VILNAME): ……..
3. Gali/Mohalla/Bustee Name (MNAME): ……
4. Date of Interview (DATE): ……..
5. Interviewer (INAME): ……..
6. Interviewer's Code (ICODE): ……..
7. Respondent's ID Code (R_IDCODE): ……..

8. Full household address (including detailed description of location and approach) (ADDRESS):

……..
……
……
……
Tel/Mob:……..

9. Religion of household (RELIGION): ☐

Muslim (Sunni)	1
Muslim (Shia)	2
Muslim (Other)	3
Hindu	4
Christian	5
Other ……..	6

10. Language of household (LANG): ☐

Urdu	1
Punjabi	2
Other ……..	3

Checked by supervisor (signature): ……
Computer entered (signature): ……

Section 2: Household Roster: Demographics and Particulars of all Residents

ID Code	Name	Relation--ship to Head (see codes)	Sex (M=1 F=0)	Age (years)	Marital Status (see codes)	Education Status (Completed =1 Currently Enrolled = 0)	Highest grade completed in general education (see codes)	Type of School	Occupation (see codes)
PCODE	NAME	REL	SEX	AGE	MARR	EDSTAT	HIGRADE	STYPE	OCC
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(11)

Codes for Section 2: Col (3) relationship to head: *1= self, 2= spouse of head, 3= married child, 4= spouse of married child, 5= unmarried child (biological), 6= unmarried child (foster/adopted), 7=grandchild, 8= father/mother, 9=father in law/mother in law, 10= brother/sister, 11=brother in law/sister in law/other relatives, 12= servants/employees/other non-relatives*

Col (6) marital status: *1=married, 2= unmarried, 3= divorced, 4= separated/widowed*

Col (8) highest grade completed: *1= grade 1, 2 = grade 2 and so on, until 12 = grade 12; BA/BSC = 14, MA/MSC = 16, PhD or professional degree= 18*

Col (9) Type of school: *1= govt. (Reg), 2= govt. model, 3= private (Reg), 4= private FAS, 5= NGO, 6=Community, 7= madrassa*

Col (10) Occupation: *1= labour, 2= self-employed, 3= pvt employee, 4= govt employee, 5= student, 6= housewife, 7= unemployed*

Section 3: Household Expenditure and Key Items

Type of House:

a. Kutcha
b. Semi-pucca
c. Pucca

House Ownership:

a. Yes
b. No

Electricity Connection:

a. Yes
b. No

Number of:

Bedrooms: ……

Bathrooms: ……

Household Expenditure		
Items	Value of consumption in Rs. During last	
	30 days	365 days
Food (CFOOD)		
HH Rent (CRENT)		
Utilities (CUTIL)		
Entertainment (CENT)		
Tel/Mob/Net (CTEL)		
Conveyance/travel (CTRA)		
Personal items, sundry articles and consumer services (CPERS)		
Clothing (CCLOTH)		
Bedding etc. (CBED)		
Education (CEDU)		
Medical (CMED)		
Taxes and cesses (CTAX)		
Durable goods (CDUR)		

N

Note: Please value goods that are home produced (e.g. food grown at own farm and consumed by the household) at the prevailing price in the locality, i.e. at the price which the household would have to purchase these items if they were to buy them

Household Items		
Items		Func.
	Yes=1 No=0	Yes=1 No=0
TV		
Radio/cassette player		
Telephone		
Mobile phone		
Motorbike/rickshaw/ bicycle		
Car		
Computer/Laptop		
Internet		

Section 4: Child's Health

1. Does your child have any special needs owing to a medical condition or disability?
   a) Yes, (please provide details): _____
   b) No

2. Has your child suffered any traumatic experience (s) while growing up (e.g. a loved one's death)?
   a) Yes, (please provide details): _____
   b) No

3. Does your child have breakfast before going to school? Yes No

4. Does your child have lunch at school?
   a) Yes, he/she mostly takes lunch prepared at home
   b) Yes, he/she mostly buys lunch from the school canteen
   c) No
   d) Do not know

5. How many meals does your child take on any regular day (excluding lunch at school)?
   a) 1
   b) 2
   c) 3 or more

Section 5: Child's Education

6. Please list the schools your child has studied at (including current school):

S.No.	Type of School (public, private, Madrassa etc.)	Name of School	Years Attended
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

7. Has your child ever repeated a grade? Yes No
   If yes, please state Grade:……

8. How does your child commute to school:
   Means:…….. Distance:…… Time taken:……

9. Does your child study tuition?
   a) Yes, home tuition
   b) Yes, after school tuition or academy
   c) No

If no, move to question 12.

10. Which subject (s) does your child take tuitions for? ……

11. Does your child get scolded or beaten by his/her teachers at tuition?
    a) Mostly yes
    b) Mostly no
    c) Do not know

12. On average, for how many hours does your child study after returning from school (including tuition)? ……

13. Does your child have a private study space at home? Yes No

14. Does your child read at home (e.g. any story books that he/she may have, newspapers, magazines etc.)?
    a) Mostly yes
    b) Mostly no

15. Which of the following better describes your child's studies at home?
    a) My partner and/or I mostly help our child with studies
    b) Our child usually studies on his/her own

16. Does your child get scolded or beaten over studies by you/your partner?
    a) Mostly yes
    b) Mostly no

17. How would you describe your child's school performance?
    Poor Below average Average Above average Excellent

18. Do you feel your child's school and/or tuition encourages rote learning?
    Yes No Do not know

Section 6: Child's Personality

19. How would you rate your child on the following characteristics (1: lowest, 5: highest):

a)	Natural learning ability	1	2	3	4	5
b)	Inquisitiveness	1	2	3	4	5
c)	Friendliness towards others	1	2	3	4	5
d)	Basic etiquettes and manners	1	2	3	4	5
e)	Showing concern for others	1	2	3	4	5
f)	Confidence	1	2	3	4	5

20. Which is more like your child:
    a) Quiet and reserved, or
    b) Talkative and expressive

21. Which of the following best describes your child's grooming about right and wrong?

a) He mostly obtains it at home
b) He mostly obtains it at school
c) He obtains it more or less equally from home and school

Section 7: Child's Daily Activities

22. Does your child devote any hours to paid or unpaid work after returning from school?
Please provide details: ……..

23. Does your child devote any time to religious study/activity after returning from school?
Please provide details:

Activity (e.g. Qari Sb, Hifz etc.)	Frequency (daily, weekly etc.)	No. of hours per activity

24. Does your child devote any hours to play after returning from school?
If yes, how many? …….

25. What does your child prefer:

a) Playing alone or with others (siblings, neighbors, cousins etc.)
b) Playing indoor games (e.g. video games) or outdoor games (catch me if you can, cycling, cricket etc.)

26. What other activities normally constitute your child's day?
You may mark more than one option:

a) Watching television
b) Listening to the radio
c) Reading for leisure
d) Drawing/art work
e) Surfing the internet
f) Telephoning friends
g) Going out (e.g. to shop, visit friends/relatives and so on)
h) Other (please specify):
…….

Section 8: Interaction with Household Members

27. Which of the following best describes you and your partner's interaction with your child?
    a) You do not say anything to your child and let him/her do whatever he/she likes
    b) You maintain certain norms and punish strictly if your child does not follow
    c) You keep your control, but also try to understand your child's perspective
    d) You have little time to spend with your child and do not control him/her much

28. How often (if at all) does any member of the household do the following activities with your child:

a) Play with your child	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
b) Read with your child	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
c) Take your child out for leisure	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
d) Buy your child books	Rarely	Sometimes	Often
e) Buy your child toys	Rarely	Sometimes	Often

29. How would you rate yourself on encouraging your child to do the following:

a)	Form independent opinions	1	2	3	4	5
b)	Share his/her thoughts with you	1	2	3	4	5
c)	Ask questions	1	2	3	4	5
d)	Obtain education	1	2	3	4	5
e)	Learn about religion	1	2	3	4	5
f)	Learn English	1	2	3	4	5
g)	Speak English	1	2	3	4	5
h)	Think about his/her future	1	2	3	4	5
i)	Participate in school sports	1	2	3	4	5
j)	Participate in other school activities	1	2	3	4	5

30. On a scale of 1 to 5, how religious do you rate your household to be?

1	2	3	4	5

31. Does any member in your household interact with your child in English?
    a) Mostly yes
    b) Mostly no

32. Do you advise your child to avoid knowledge and people of other religions? Yes No

33. Does your child participate in any community activities (e.g. events in the neighborhood/a community centre, community sports etc.) Please provide details:

……
……
……

Appendix 3D: Summary of Quantitative Data Collection

Capabilities	Theoretical Dimensions	Contextualized Capabilities	Relevant Questions in Capabilities Questionnaire	Relevant Questions in Household Survey
Practical Reason	• Being able to form a conception of the good.	• Being able to tell right from wrong.	• Some kids can tell what is right and what is wrong BUT some kids cannot tell what is right and what is wrong. • My school teaches me what is right and what is wrong.	• Whether the child mostly obtains grooming about right and wrong at school, or home, or more or less equally at school and home.
	• Engaging in critical reflection and planning of one's life.	• Being able to form independent opinions and express them.	• I have my thoughts about most things e.g. if something is good or bad, right or wrong etc. • I find it easy to share my thoughts with others at school. • My class fellows and teachers are interested to hear what I say.	• Parents' ranking of their own encouragement to the child to: Form independent opinions Share his/her thoughts with others. • Whether the child is quiet and reserved, or talkative and expressive.
	• Being able to aspire.	• Being able to aspire/become someone.	• Some kids think about their future BUT some kids do not think about their future. • I wish to become someone when I grow up. • I feel by going to school, I can become someone big on growing up.	• Parents' ranking of their own encouragement to the child to: Think about his/her future.

Knowledge and Senses, Imagination and Thought	• Being able to acquire, use and produce knowledge.	• Being able to understand things conceptually (and not 'rote' learn).	• Some kids learn things by heart without understanding their meaning BUT some kids do not learn things by heart without understanding their meaning. • I understand my teachers' language in the classroom • My teachers explain things well in class. • I am able to understand what is taught in class.	• Parents' ranking of child's learning ability. • Whether the child receives help from parents in studies. • Whether the child studies tuition. • Whether the child studies tuition for core subjects. • Parents' perception of whether their child's school encourages rote learning.
	• Being able to use the senses, think, imagine and reason (in a manner cultivated by education).	• Being able to think, reason, and imagine.	• Cognitive part: 1 sequence (chicken and egg) 1 shape and size MCQ (Raven) 1 mirror effect MCQ (Raven) 1 add/subtract 2 multiply/divide	• Parents' ranking of child's learning ability. • Whether the child's daily activity normally includes drawing.

	• Literacy	• Being able to read (books).	• I am able to read. • When I read something, I have to read something a second or third time to understand it. • I get chances to read in class. • My school has a library where I can read books.	• Ranked frequency with which family member(s): Read with child; Buy him/her books. • Whether the child reads at home. • Whether the child's daily activity normally includes reading.
		• Being able to learn and speak English.	• Some kids get to learn English at school BUT some kids do not get to learn English at school. • My school is English medium. • My teachers teach in English. • I am able to understand English. • I am able to speak English.	• Language of household. • Parents' ranking of their own encouragement to the child to: Learn English; Speak English. • Whether any household member interacts with the child in English.

Learning Disposition	• Being able to have a desire for learning. • Being an active inquirer.	• Being motivated to obtain a good education/ willingness to study. • Being interested in and inquisitive about learning new things in class.	• Some kids want to study in class BUT some kids do not really want to study in class. • My teachers make studies interesting. • Attending school makes me desire a good education. • I like going to school. • Some kids are keen to learn new things BUT some kids are not too keen to learn new things. • I feel interested to learn what is being taught in class. • Some kids ask a lot of questions in class BUT some kids do not ask a lot of questions in class. • My teachers encourage me to ask questions.	• Parents' ranking of their own encouragement to the child to: Obtain education. • Parents' ranking of child's inquisitiveness. • Parents' ranking of their own encouragement to the child to: Ask questions.

Emotions	• Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear or anxiety.	• Being free of fear in class (e.g. of asking questions, corporal punishment etc.).	• I fear if I ask a question a second or third time, my teacher will be angry. • I am afraid of getting hit by teachers. • I feel afraid of other class fellows hitting me. • I think teachers should be allowed to hit children when they do something wrong.	• Whether the individual suffered any traumatic experience while growing up. • Whether the individual gets scolded or beaten by: Parents. • Parenting style (see Bodily Integrity and Respect).
		• Being encouraged by teachers.	• My teachers encourage me to study better. • My teachers encourage me to participate in school activities.	Parents' ranking of their own encouragement to the child to: Participate in school activities.
		• Being loved and cared for by teachers.	• I feel loved by my teachers.	
Bodily Integrity	• Being protected from violence of any sort.	• Being free from physical and verbal assault, by both teachers and fellow students.	• I feel teachers in my class punish really harshly. • Children in my class hit each other when they fight. • My teachers shout at me. • I get hit by teachers. • I get hit by other children in class. • My class fellows tease or make	• Whether the individual gets scolded or beaten by: Tuition teachers.

		• Being safe and secure at school.	fun of me. • My class fellows call me rude names. • I feel safe at my school. • My school tries to keep its students safe.	
Respect (Affiliation)	• Being able to have respect for oneself (self-respect and non-humiliation). • Being able to be respected and treated with dignity (equal worth as others).	• Not being scolded/beaten in front of others. • Being given equal or due attention by teachers in class.	• I get punished before the entire class. • My teachers give me enough attention in class.	
Social Relations (Affiliation)	• Being able to live with and toward others. • Being able to show concern for, and imagine the situation of	• Learning to live peacefully and not fight with class fellows. • Being empathetic.	• Some kids get angry and pick fights easily BUT some kids do not get angry and pick fights easily. • Most of my class fellows are friendly with others. • It upsets me to see a class fellow sad or upset. • When a class fellow is sad or upset, I can feel what he/she	• Parents' ranking of child's concern for others.

	another. • Being able to form networks of friendship and belonging for learning, support and leisure.	• Being able to form good friendships. • Being confident in interaction with others.	must be going through. • My school teaches me to care for others. • Some kids have good friends at school BUT some kids do not have good friends at school. • My teachers try to make me friends with other children in class. • I find it difficult to make friends at school. • Some kids are confident BUT some kids are not so confident. • My school gives me confidence.	• Parents' ranking of child's friendliness towards others. • Whether the individual participates in community activities. • Parents' ranking of child's confidence. • Whether the child prefers to play alone or with others.
Values and Etiquettes (contextual)		• Learning basic etiquettes and manners. • Learning good values (discipline, obedience, honesty etc.).	• My school teaches me good manners e.g. how to behave with others. • Some kids are well-behaved BUT some kids are not so well-behaved. • My school teaches me good values e.g. telling the truth, listening to elders and so on. • Some kids have good values BUT some kids do not have	• Parents' ranking of child's basic etiquettes and manners.

			good values.	
Play	• Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational/ leisure activities.	• Being able to have leisure time for play.	• I have enough time to play at home after completing my homework and studies. • I feel play is a waste of time.	• Whether the individual devotes any time to paid or unpaid work on returning from school. • No. of hours devoted to play after returning from school. • No. of hours spent studying after returning from school (including tuition).
		• Being able to have opportunities for and participate in physical activity.	• My school has a ground where I can play. • My school has swings that I can play at. • I feel my school has enough space for play. • I feel girls' play should be separate from boys' play. • My school has many sports for children of my age. • I am able to participate in the school sports of my choice. • My school has a lot of events e.g. competitions, trips, parties etc.	• Parents' ranking of own encouragement to the child to: Participate in school sports. • Whether the individual prefers indoor games over outdoor games.

Religion (contextual)		• Being able to learn about one's religion. • Being tolerant and respectful of other religions.	• I am able to learn about my religion at school. • My school has various religious activities e.g. a daily prayer chart, religious events etc. • Some kids are keen to learn about their religion BUT some kids are not too keen to learn about their religion. • I am able to learn about other religions at school. • My school teaches me to treat people of other religions nicely. • I feel if a class fellow is of a different religion, we can still be friends.	• Whether the individual devotes any (daily) time to religious activity on returning from school. • Parents' ranking of own encouragement to child to: Learn about religion. • Parents' ranking of how religious their household is. • Religion of the household. • Whether parents advise the child to keep away from knowledge and people of other religions.

Appendix: Chapter 5

Table 5a Results for Practical Reason

	(1) PR	(2) PR	(3) PR
Location	-0.0422	-0.00267	-0.0167
	(-1.53)	(-0.12)	(-0.62)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.0508	0	0
	(0.84)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.00445	0.0478*	0.0458*
	(-0.27)	(2.29)	(2.30)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.0675*	0.0543	0.0516
	(2.86)	(1.78)	(1.03)
Gender	-0.00768	-0.0245	-0.0236
	(-0.33)	(-1.05)	(-0.78)
AGE		0.0138	0.0163
		(1.00)	(1.21)
DISABILITY		0.0326	0.0298
		(0.72)	(0.61)
MEALS		0.000285	-0.00783
		(0.01)	(-0.17)
L_ABILITY		-0.0382	-0.0462
		(-0.37)	(-0.39)
CONF		0.116	0.0868
		(1.41)	(0.91)
SCH_CHGES		0.0176	0.0183
		(1.43)	(1.54)
F_EDUC			0.00301
			(0.07)
M_EDUC			0.0287
			(0.31)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.0115
			(0.29)
_IF_STYPE_3			0.0899
			(1.27)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0311
			(-0.30)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.00167
			(-0.02)
F_OCCU			-0.0335
			(-0.81)
M_OCCU			0.0170
			(0.39)
P_STYLE3			0.0248
			(0.76)
HHSIZE			-0.00432
			(-0.55)
_IHHSES_2			0.0601
			(0.91)
_IHHSES_3			0.0186
			(0.34)
_IHHSES_4			-0.00498
			(-0.08)
_IHHSES_5			0.00531
			(0.09)
_cons	0.826***	0.552*	0.570
	(58.95)	(2.24)	(2.12)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5b Results for Knowledge, Senses, Imagination and Thought

	(1) KSIT	(2) KSIT	(3) KSIT
Location	0.0378*	0.00634	0.00415
	(2.79)	(0.48)	(0.36)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.125***	0	0
	(14.95)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	0.00188	-0.00309	0.00941
	(0.13)	(-0.23)	(0.52)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.0402*	-0.0222*	-0.0312
	(2.15)	(-2.49)	(-1.70)
Gender	-0.0179	-0.0251	-0.0304
	(-1.28)	(-1.81)	(-2.01)
AGE		-0.00690	-0.00496
		(-0.86)	(-0.63)
DISABILITY		-0.0142	-0.0128
		(-0.63)	(-0.51)
MEALS		-0.0145	-0.0190
		(-0.95)	(-0.79)
L_ABILITY		0.00435	-0.0189
		(0.11)	(-0.34)
CONF		-0.0173	-0.0247
		(-0.55)	(-0.75)
SCH_CHGES		0.0305**	0.0313**
		(3.98)	(3.62)
F_EDUC			0.0407
			(0.82)
M_EDUC			0.118**
			(3.37)
_IF_STYPE_1			-0.0440
			(-0.98)
_IF_STYPE_3			-0.0585
			(-0.97)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0927*
			(-2.27)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.0955
			(-1.92)
F_OCCU			-0.0413
			(-0.76)
M_OCCU			0.0234
			(0.88)
P_STYLE3			0.00297
			(0.12)
HHSIZE			-0.00182
			(-0.33)
_IHHSES_2			0.0275
			(0.79)
_IHHSES_3			0.00591
			(0.20)
_IHHSES_4			-0.00816
			(-0.41)
_IHHSES_5			0.0105
			(0.27)
_cons	0.682***	0.782***	0.810***
	(74.34)	(7.36)	(5.77)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5c Results for Learning Disposition

	(1) LD	(2) LD	(3) LD
Location	-0.00651	0.0134	-0.00292
	(-0.48)	(0.54)	(-0.10)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.0469*	0	0
	(2.23)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.00706	0.0152	0.00614
	(-0.85)	(1.03)	(0.32)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.00957	0.0387	0.0261
	(0.63)	(1.70)	(1.07)
Gender	-0.0205	-0.0288	-0.0246
	(-1.27)	(-1.37)	(-1.09)
AGE		0.00976	0.0128
		(0.73)	(1.04)
DISABILITY		-0.0297	-0.0306
		(-1.88)	(-1.61)
MEALS		0.00256	-0.00328
		(0.11)	(-0.12)
L_ABILITY		-0.0655	-0.0774
		(-1.22)	(-0.97)
CONF		0.0276	-0.0000987
		(0.87)	(-0.00)
SCH_CHGES		0.00920	0.00954
		(0.78)	(0.82)
F_EDUC			0.0305
			(1.00)
M_EDUC			0.0518
			(0.85)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.0337
			(1.08)
_IF_STYPE_3			-0.00437
			(-0.07)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0717
			(-1.07)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.0235
			(-0.34)
F_OCCU			-0.0505
			(-1.16)
M_OCCU			0.0527
			(1.63)
P_STYLE3			0.0105
			(0.29)
HHSIZE			-0.00865
			(-1.32)
_IHHSES_2			0.0386
			(0.98)
_IHHSES_3			0.00234
			(0.05)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0489
			(-1.22)
_IHHSES_5			-0.00155
			(-0.05)
_cons	0.922***	0.846***	0.892**
	(84.76)	(4.32)	(4.10)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5d Results for Emotions

	(1) EMO	(2) EMO	(3) EMO
Location	0.0244	0.0335	0.0168
	(0.80)	(0.93)	(0.47)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.0325	0	0
	(0.70)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.162***	-0.147***	-0.154***
	(-6.60)	(-6.23)	(-5.53)
_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0701**	-0.0773**	-0.0603
	(-3.16)	(-3.38)	(-2.05)
Gender	-0.0499	-0.0577	-0.0574
	(-1.69)	(-1.62)	(-1.47)
AGE		0.00332	-0.00775
		(0.29)	(-0.47)
DISABILITY		-0.0583	-0.0667
		(-1.31)	(-1.54)
MEALS		-0.000454	-0.0148
		(-0.01)	(-0.21)
L_ABILITY		-0.0626	-0.0327
		(-0.67)	(-0.35)
CONF		-0.0706	-0.0815
		(-0.74)	(-0.94)
SCH_CHGES		0.0300	0.0367
		(1.62)	(1.65)
F_EDUC			0.0733
			(0.78)
M_EDUC			0.0704
			(0.62)
_IF_STYPE_1			-0.0455
			(-0.49)
_IF_STYPE_3			-0.0155
			(-0.10)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.155
			(-1.24)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.0837
			(-0.57)
F_OCCU			-0.186***
			(-4.71)
M_OCCU			0.0330
			(0.68)
P_STYLE3			0.00151
			(0.05)
HHSIZE			-0.00385
			(-0.42)
_IHHSES_2			-0.0215
			(-0.39)
_IHHSES_3			0.0163
			(0.31)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0198
			(-0.36)
_IHHSES_5			-0.0105
			(-0.16)
_cons	0.686***	0.770**	1.106***
	(24.91)	(4.14)	(4.25)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5e Results for Bodily Integrity

	(1) BI	(2) BI	(3) BI
Location	0.0117	0.0177	-0.0194
	(0.47)	(0.44)	(-0.37)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.436***	0	0
	(13.94)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	0.340***	0.336***	0.304***
	(11.61)	(9.24)	(6.76)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.441***	0.467***	0.475***
	(16.13)	(11.73)	(8.04)
Gender	-0.0340	-0.0292	-0.00708
	(-0.80)	(-0.55)	(-0.16)
Age		0.0162	0.0176
		(1.28)	(1.46)
DISABILITY		-0.0460	-0.0508
		(-1.15)	(-1.21)
MEALS		0.0594	0.0474
		(0.96)	(0.69)
L_ABILITY		0.140	0.174
		(1.21)	(1.38)
CONF		-0.177*	-0.183*
		(-2.87)	(-2.41)
SCH_CHGES		0.0164	0.0158
		(0.93)	(0.82)
F_EDUC			-0.00137
			(-0.02)
M_EDUC			-0.0528
			(-0.53)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.0503
			(0.42)
_IF_STYPE_3			0.134
			(1.16)
_IM_STYPE1			0.0632
			(0.81)
_IM_STYPE3			0.107
			(0.85)
F_OCCU			-0.0355
			(-0.63)
M_OCCU			-0.00364
			(-0.08)
P_STYLE3			-0.0519
			(-1.43)
HHSIZE			0.00114
			(0.10)
_IHHSES_2			-0.0183
			(-0.29)
_IHHSES_3			0.0368
			(0.66)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0161
			(-0.31)
_IHHSES_5			-0.0375
			(-0.58)
_cons	0.353***	0.185	0.199
	(11.67)	(1.01)	(0.93)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5f Results for Respect

	(1) RES	(2) RES	(3) RES
Location	-0.00374	0.0335	0.0169
	(-0.08)	(0.36)	(0.20)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.136	0	0
	(1.68)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.125**	-0.0813	-0.0908
	(-3.55)	(-1.02)	(-1.46)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.0668*	0.0496	0.0493
	(2.18)	(0.62)	(0.70)
Gender	-0.0809	-0.104	-0.136
	(-1.36)	(-1.48)	(-1.86)
AGE		0.0167	0.0236
		(0.54)	(0.79)
DISABILITY		-0.0395	-0.0436
		(-0.70)	(-0.70)
MEALS		-0.0494	-0.0441
		(-1.10)	(-0.96)
L_ABILITY		-0.228	-0.281
		(-1.62)	(-2.14)
CONF		-0.0878	-0.143
		(-0.68)	(-1.22)
SCH_CHGES		0.00909	0.0252
		(0.30)	(1.04)
F_EDUC			0.135
			(1.79)
M_EDUC			0.138
			(0.92)
_IF_STYPE_1			-0.125
			(-1.44)
_IF_STYPE_3			-0.0838
			(-0.55)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0833
			(-0.47)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.301
			(-1.40)
F_OCCU			-0.218*
			(-2.43)
M_OCCU			0.0787
			(1.36)
P_STYLE3			-0.00658
			(-0.12)
HHSIZE			-0.00211
			(-0.23)
_IHHSES_2			0.112*
			(2.47)
_IHHSES_3			0.0194
			(0.28)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0774
			(-1.28)
_IHHSES_5			0.0859
			(1.10)
_cons	0.783***	0.883*	1.029
	(21.64)	(2.31)	(2.04)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5g Results for Affiliation

	(1) AFF	(2) AFF	(3) AFF
Location	-0.0328	0.00210	-0.0273
	(-0.96)	(0.06)	(-0.97)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.00746	0	0
	(0.27)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0138	0.0317	0.0174
	(-0.39)	(0.78)	(0.46)
_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0360	0.0439	0.0138
	(-0.51)	(1.64)	(0.40)
Gender	-0.0397*	-0.0579*	-0.0500*
	(-2.14)	(-2.68)	(-2.25)
AGE		0.00648	0.0146
		(0.45)	(1.25)
DISABILITY		-0.00432	-0.00365
		(-0.08)	(-0.07)
MEALS		-0.00631	-0.0133
		(-0.19)	(-0.41)
L_ABILITY		0.0590	0.00855
		(0.99)	(0.10)
CONF		0.0278	-0.00298
		(0.56)	(-0.04)
SCH_CHGES		0.0467**	0.0460**
		(3.25)	(3.48)
F_EDUC			0.0426
			(0.86)
M_EDUC			0.0737
			(1.38)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.000258
			(0.00)
_IF_STYPE_3			0.0122
			(0.19)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0347
			(-0.46)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.0257
			(-0.39)
F_OCCU			-0.0784
			(-1.42)
M_OCCU			0.0418
			(1.66)
P_STYLE3			0.0230
			(1.15)
HHSIZE			-0.00744
			(-0.98)
_IHHSES_2			0.0639
			(1.37)
_IHHSES_3			0.0340
			(0.76)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0284
			(-0.63)
_IHHSES_5			0.0236
			(0.61)
_cons	0.821***	0.641*	0.650*
	(26.04)	(2.39)	(2.35)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5h Results for Play

	(1) PL	(2) PL	(3) PL
Location	-0.0202	0.0173	-0.0114
	(-0.39)	(0.25)	(-0.14)
_ISchool_Ty1	0.111	0	0
	(1.87)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.285***	-0.204**	-0.220**
	(-6.64)	(-3.59)	(-3.92)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.102*	0.104*	0.137
	(2.70)	(2.19)	(1.77)
Gender	0.0196	-0.0190	-0.0138
	(0.38)	(-0.36)	(-0.26)
AGE		0.0375*	0.0293*
		(2.69)	(2.30)
DISABILITY		-0.0336	-0.0378
		(-1.50)	(-1.52)
MEALS		0.0158	0.0137
		(0.31)	(0.24)
L_ABILITY		-0.0528	-0.0160
		(-0.55)	(-0.14)
CONF		-0.0764	-0.0845
		(-1.07)	(-1.05)
SCH_CHGES		0.0712**	0.0773**
		(3.32)	(3.56)
F_EDUC			-0.0705
			(-1.20)
M_EDUC			0.000513
			(0.01)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.0966
			(1.43)
_IF_STYPE_3			0.231*
			(2.78)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0580
			(-0.79)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.0236
			(-0.28)
F_OCCU			-0.112
			(-1.75)
M_OCCU			0.0299
			(0.91)
P_STYLE3			-0.00292
			(-0.07)
HHSIZE			0.00421
			(0.38)
_IHHSES_2			-0.0293
			(-0.55)
_IHHSES_3			-0.0406
			(-1.04)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0815
			(-1.50)
_IHHSES_5			-0.0662
			(-1.21)
_cons	0.593***	0.222	0.397
	(15.19)	(1.24)	(1.50)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5i Results for Values and Etiquettes

	(1) VE	(2) VE	(3) VE
Location	-0.0194	0.0592	0.0589
	(-0.47)	(1.86)	(1.46)
_ISchool_Ty1	-0.0764	0	0
	(-0.93)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	0.0471	0.0875*	0.0877*
	(2.00)	(2.42)	(2.84)
_ISchool_Ty3	0.0341	0.0729*	0.106*
	(1.58)	(2.53)	(2.31)
Gender	-0.000527	-0.0407	-0.0476
	(-0.02)	(-1.58)	(-2.08)
AGE		0.00909	0.0118
		(0.85)	(1.00)
DISABILITY		0.00319	0.00774
		(0.10)	(0.23)
MEALS		0.0292	0.0281
		(1.03)	(1.19)
L_ABILITY		-0.0564	-0.0805
		(-0.74)	(-1.34)
CONF		0.00628	0.0335
		(0.09)	(0.48)
SCH_CHGES		0.00683	0.0112
		(0.37)	(0.62)
F_EDUC			-0.0497
			(-1.19)
M_EDUC			-0.0257
			(-0.82)
_IF_STYPE_1			0.0247
			(0.54)
_IF_STYPE_3			0.0241
			(0.36)
_IM_STYPE1			0.0398
			(1.30)
_IM_STYPE3			0.0638
			(1.76)
F_OCCU			-0.0635
			(-1.60)
M_OCCU			0.0331
			(0.75)
P_STYLE3			-0.0391
			(-1.78)
HHSIZE			-0.00788
			(-1.34)
_IHHSES_2			0.0490
			(0.87)
_IHHSES_3			0.0284
			(0.70)
_IHHSES_4			-0.00329
			(-0.06)
_IHHSES_5			-0.0165
			(-0.28)
_cons	0.953***	0.844***	0.918**
	(42.97)	(4.52)	(3.96)
N	177	140	140

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5j Results for Religion

	(1) REL	(2) REL	(3) REL
Location	-0.000922	0.0204	0.0291
	(-0.03)	(0.58)	(0.78)
_ISchool_Ty1	-0.0000127	0	0
	(-0.00)	(.)	(.)
_ISchool_Ty2	-0.0175	0.0372	0.0433
	(-0.41)	(0.91)	(1.05)
_ISchool_Ty3	-0.0158	-0.0443	-0.0637
	(-0.73)	(-1.14)	(-1.46)
Gender	-0.0279	-0.0589	-0.0778*
	(-0.75)	(-1.70)	(-2.54)
AGE		0.0212	0.0225
		(1.37)	(1.38)
DISABILITY		-0.0197	-0.0141
		(-0.39)	(-0.29)
MEALS		0.0214	0.0207
		(0.79)	(0.57)
L_ABILITY		-0.147*	-0.177*
		(-2.67)	(-2.59)
CONF		0.0448	0.0369
		(0.81)	(0.56)
SCH_CHGES		0.0428*	0.0453*
		(2.86)	(2.97)
F_EDUC			0.0686
			(0.95)
M_EDUC			0.0820
			(0.82)
_IF_STYPE_1			-0.0840
			(-1.14)
_IF_STYPE_3			-0.136
			(-1.35)
_IM_STYPE1			-0.0667
			(-0.83)
_IM_STYPE3			-0.0268
			(-0.27)
F_OCCU			-0.0180
			(-0.46)
M_OCCU			0.0233
			(0.64)
P_STYLE3			-0.0136
			(-0.41)
HHSIZE			-0.00879
			(-1.01)
_IHHSES_2			0.0194
			(0.41)
_IHHSES_3			-0.0634
			(-1.20)
_IHHSES_4			-0.0536
			(-1.24)
_IHHSES_5			0.0390
			(1.32)
_cons	0.845***	0.644*	0.754*
	(33.89)	(2.79)	(2.66)
N	177	140	140

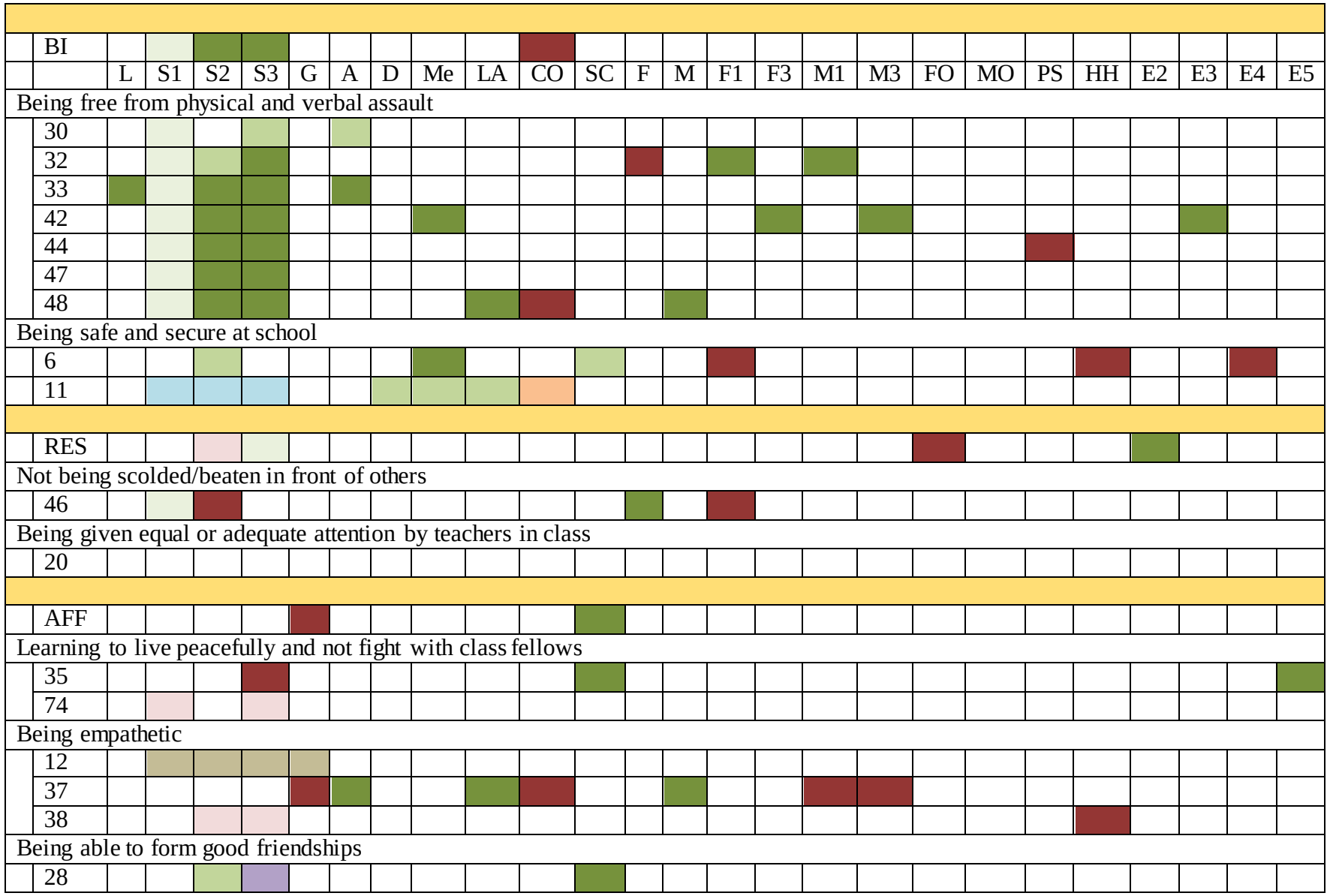
t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5k Summary Results for all Capability Dimensions and Explanatory Variables

CAP/Qs	L	S1	S2	S3	G	A	D	Me	LA	CO	SC	F	M	F1	F3	M1	M3	FO	MO	PS	HH	E2	E3	E4	E5
TOT																									
PR																									
Being able to tell right from wrong																									
13																									
65																									
Being able to form independent opinions and express them																									
39																									
40																									
41																									
Being able to aspire or become someone																									
8																									
54																									
64																									
KSIT																									
Being able to understand things conceptually																									
22																									
24																									
25																									
67																									
Being able to think, reason and imagine																									
CQs																									
Being able to read																									
2																									
60																									
56																									
63																									

Being able to learn and speak English																										
		L	S1	S2	S3	G	A	D	Me	LA	CO	SC	F	M	F1	F3	M1	M3	FO	MO	PS	HH	E2	E3	E4	E5
	1																									
	23																									
	61																									
	62																									
	68																									
	LD																									
Being motivated to obtain a good education/willingness to study																										
	5																									
	7											=0														
	21																									
	70																									
Being interested in and inquisitive about learning new things in class																										
	19																									
	55																									
	69																									
	71																									
	EMO																									
Being free of fear in class																										
	29																									
	31																									
	34																									
	43																									
Being encouraged by teachers																										
	18																									
	27																									
Being loved by teachers																										
	26																									


BI
L S1 S2 S3 G A D Me LA CO SC F M F1 F3 M1 M3 FO MO PS HH E2 E3 E4 E5
Being free from physical and verbal assault
30
32
33
42
44
47
48
Being safe and secure at school
6
11
RES
Not being scolded/beaten in front of others
46
Being given equal or adequate attention by teachers in class
20
AFF
Learning to live peacefully and not fight with class fellows
35
74
Being empathetic
12
37
38
Being able to form good friendships
28

	36																									
	73																									
Being confident in interaction with others																										
		L	S1	S2	S3	G	A	D	Me	LA	CO	SC	F	M	F1	F3	M1	M3	FO	MO	PS	HH	E2	E3	E4	E5
	17																									
	66																									
	PL																									
Being able to have leisure time for play																										
	50																									
	52																									
Being able to have opportunities for and participate in physical activity																										
	3																									
	4																									
	9																									
	10																									
	49																									
	51																									
	53																									
	VE																									
Being able to learn basic etiquettes and manners																										
	14																									
	72																									
Being able to learn good values (e.g. honesty, obedience etc.)																										
	15																									
	76																									
	REL																									
Being able to learn about one's religion																										
	57																									

	59																									
	75																									
Being tolerant and respectful of other religions																										
	16																									
		L	S1	S2	S3	G	A	D	Me	LA	CO	SC	F	M	F1	F3	M1	M3	FO	MO	PS	HH	E2	E3	E4	E5
	45																									
	58																									

Key

	Negative correlation/lower odds of success in the reduced version of the model
	Negative correlation/lower odds of success in at least the X*i* version of the model
	Negative correlation/lower odds of success in at least the complete version of the model
	Positive correlation/higher odds of success in the reduced version of the model
	Positive correlation/higher odds of success in at least the X*i* version of the model
	Positive correlation/higher odds of success in at least the complete version of the model
	Near perfect prediction of success on the outcome variable
	Perfect prediction of success on the outcome variable
	Perfect prediction of success on the outcome variable across both compared and reference groups
	No significant results

L	Location
S1	School Type 1 (elitist private)
S2	School Type 2 (low-cost private)
S3	School Type 3 (private religious)
G	Gender
A	Age
D	Disability
Me	Meals
LA	Learning Ability
CO	Confidence
SC	School Changes
F	Father's Education
M	Mother's Education
F1	Father's School Type 1 (no education)
F3	Father's School Type 3 (private education)
M1	Mother's School Type 1 (no education)
M3	Mother's School Type 3 (private education)
FO	Father's Occupation
MO	Mother's Occupation
PS	Parenting Style
HH	Household Size
E2	Household Socio-economic Status Quintile 2
E3	Household Socio-economic Status Quintile 3
E4	Household Socio-economic Status Quintile 4
E5	Richest Quintile (5)